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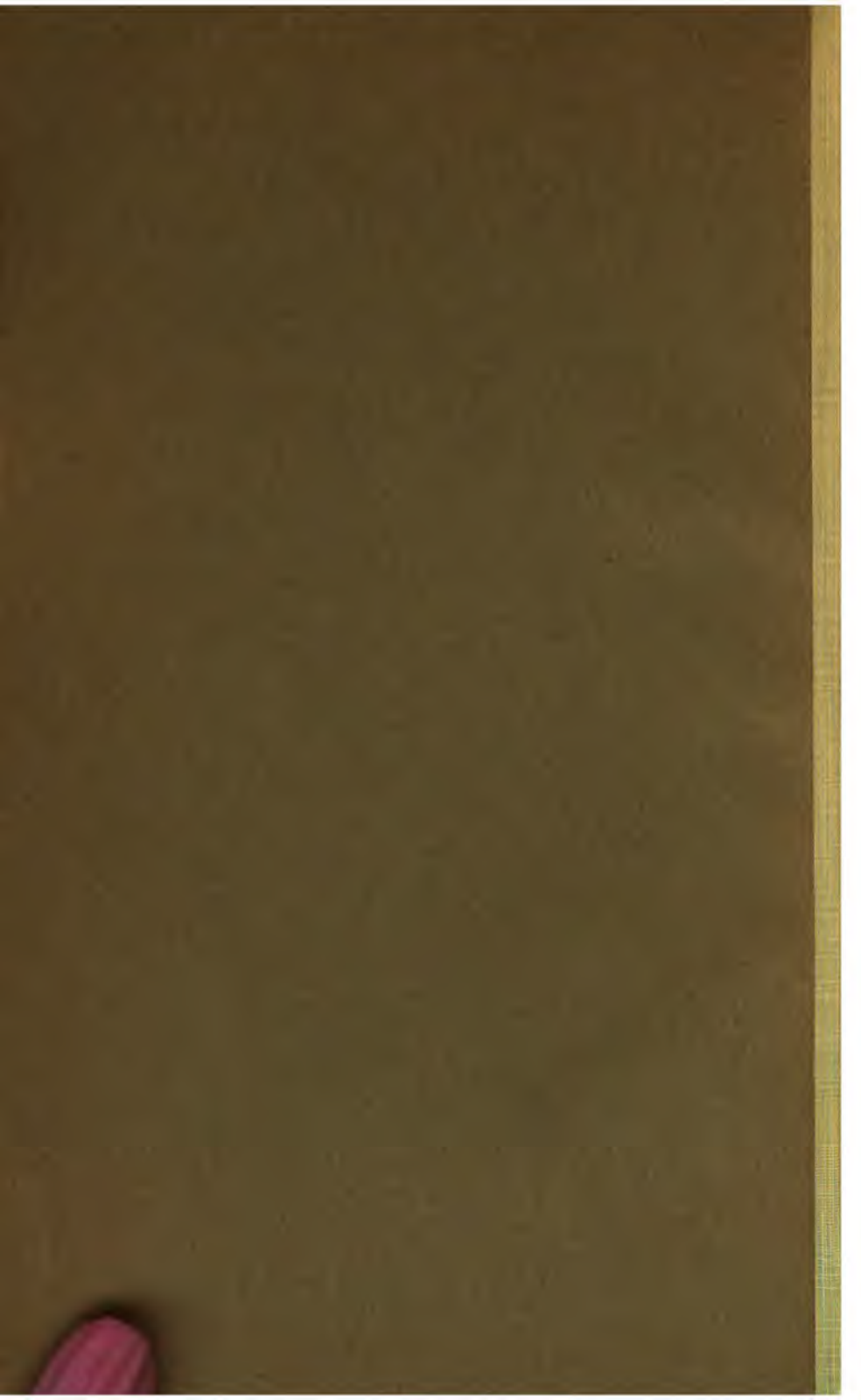


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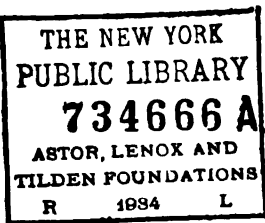
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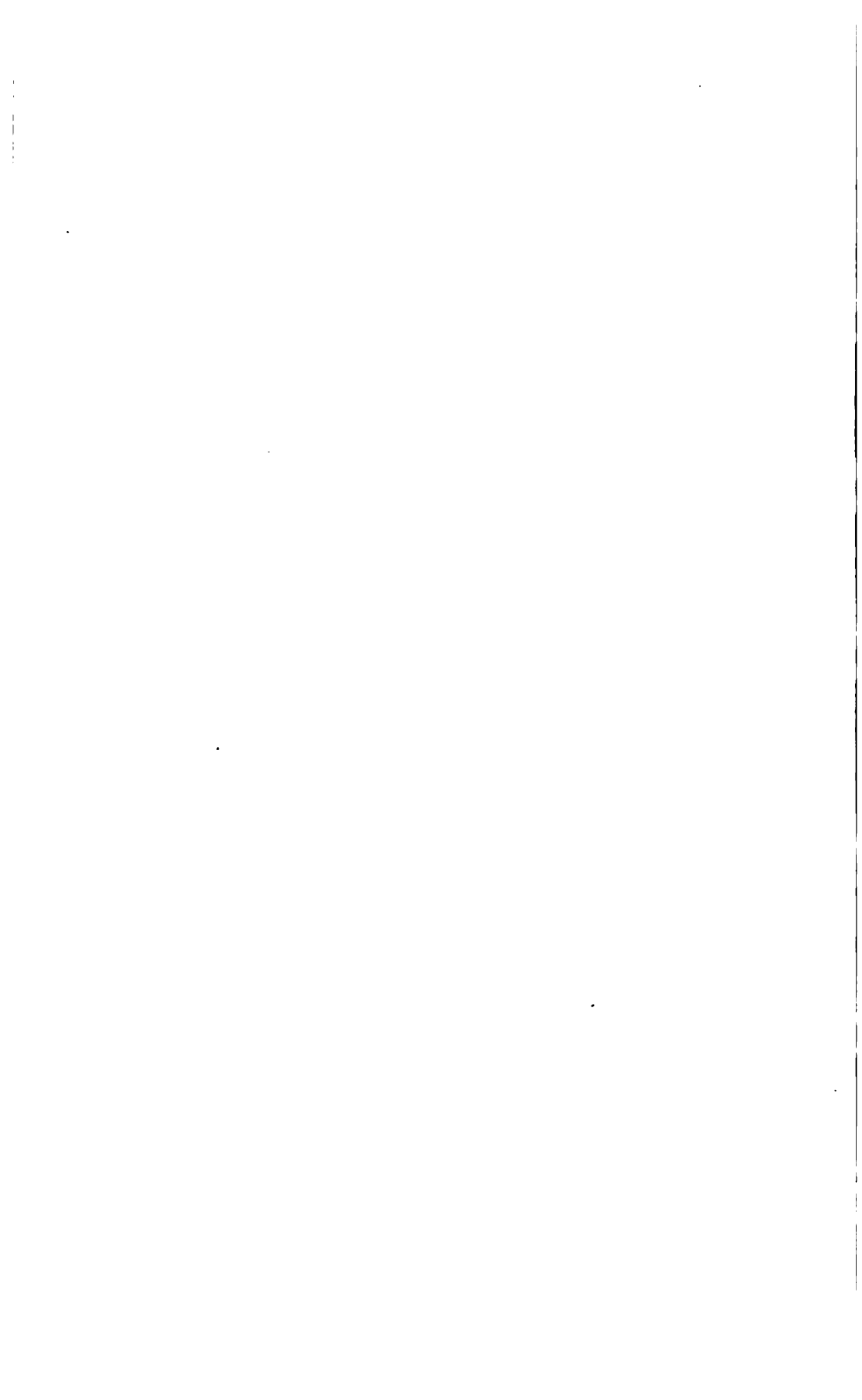


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R E P O R T  
OF THE  
**Muniments at Merton Hall, Norfolk.**

BY  
THE REV. GEORGE CRABBE,  
RECTOR OF MERTON.

(Continued from Vol. II., Part II., page 629.)

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PART II.  
MUNIMENTS RELATING TO THE FAMILY.

IN a former paper in this *Miscellany* a description was given of those muniments at Merton which relate to the several manors belonging to the de Greys, forming Part I. of the collection. In continuation of the subject I have now to describe the muniments which form Part II., viz., those relating to the Family. As before, only those documents which are especially interesting are included in this report.

**Early History of the de Grey Family.**

A short sketch of the early history of the family of de Grey, as given by the genealogists, seems to be necessary as an introduction to a report on the personal muniments.

Dugdale traces the de Greys only up to Henry of Thurroc  
VOL. III.]

Gray and Codnor, *circa* 1200. Collins gives Francis de Belleforest,<sup>1</sup> a French compiler of books, who died 1583, as an authority for an earlier origin, and says that he, Belleforest, traces the de Greys up to Rollo, grandfather of the Conqueror. Playfair, following Collins, boldly says that the de Greys *were* descended from Rollo. Blomefield is, so far as I know, the first English historian who deals with the Merton branch of the de Greys, and he traces it up through Henry of Thurroc Gray to Anschetil (temp. Conq.) Burke traces the Gray family, under Earl of Stamford, up to Henry of Thurroc Gray.

It is probable that all the English branches of the de Grey family are descended from Anschetil, and that Anschetil and his ancestors, as will be presently seen, came of a fine old Norman stock, known to have existed as lords of Grai, near Caen, at least one hundred years before the Conquest.

The genealogists then say that Rollo alias Fulbert,<sup>2</sup> grandfather of the Conqueror, had, of Duke Robert's gift, the Castle and Honour of Croy, and became the progenitor of the de Croys of Picardy, and of the de Greys of England; the name Grey, being, as they say, an English corruption of Croy.<sup>3</sup> They say that the great-grandson of Fulbert was

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<sup>1</sup> "Ecrivain fécond mais peu exact, . . . il avait été nommé historiographe de France sous Henri III. ; mais l'infidélité de ses récits lui fit perdre cette place."—Bouillet's *Dictionary*.

<sup>2</sup> "It is likely that Robert was not yet Duke of Normandy, but only Lord of Falaise, when his eye was first caught by the beauty of Arlette or rather Herleva, the daughter of Fulbert the tanner . . . the prince himself, a mere stripling, saw and loved her, . . . she became the cherished mistress of Robert . . . Robert in after times raised the kinsfolk of his mistress to high honours . . . Fulbert the tanner, the father of Herleva, was raised to the post of Ducal Chamberlain."—Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, ii. 177.

<sup>3</sup> There is this bit of evidence of the identity of the families of Croy and Grey, that the arms are the same with only such a differencing as was usual in branches of the same family.

de Grey bears barry of six ar. and az., and de Croy barry of seven ar. and

Anschetil de Grey, who came in with the Conqueror; and this much is certain, that in the Roll of Battle Abbey, compiled by the Vicomte de Magny from the extant lists, all of which are however, no doubt, long posterior to the Conquest, and of doubtful authenticity, the name of Anquetil de Grai appears (see Nichols' *Herald* for 1863, pp. 194 and 527); and there is no doubt that an Anschetil de Grey, at the general survey, temp. William the Conqueror, possessed lordships in the counties of Oxford and Bucks. (See *infra*, Editor's note.)

The de Greys of Merton belong to a junior branch of the de Grey family. The Greys, Earls of Stamford, the Greys of Wilton, and others, belong probably to the older branch.

As to the prefix *de*, a large majority of the names in the so-called Rolls of Battle Abbey have this prefix, and M. A. Lower says that those Norman families which had been noble before the Conquest generally retained it till the fifteenth century, when it was gradually laid aside. Nichols (*Herald and Genealogist* for 1863, p. 138) says that in the

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gu.; and "in a genealogy of Queen Elizabeth in the King's Library, William the Conqueror is represented . . . holding in his right hand a banner, barry of ten, *ar.* and *az.*; and from a MS. in the Harl. Coll., it appears that these arms were borne by Fulbert de Falaise, his maternal grandfather."—Barrington's *Lectures on Heraldry*, p. 4, ed. 1844.

Heraldic scholars will not need to be told that it is very doubtful if there were either in France or England any personal armorial bearings before the time of the first Crusade, or any that were hereditary before about 1200. Besides, *Barry ar.* and *az.* or *gu.* was a very common blazon.

Then, again, the family of Croy, though of the highest honour and dignity in mediæval times, cannot, it seems, be traced with any certainty previous to the fourteenth century.

The Marquis de Sassenay, in a letter, October 16th, 1878, says:—

"J'ai eu récemment deux longues conversations avec Borel d'Hauterive au sujet de la famille de Croij. Ce généalogiste qui s'est beaucoup occupé de la question, me dit que les Croij ne remontent qu'au xiv<sup>me</sup> siècle, malgré l'ordonnance de Charles quint qui les déclare issus d'un Roi de Hongrie."

book called *Noble and Gentlemen of England*, describing three hundred and twenty-seven families whose antiquity dates before the year 1500, there is only one name beginning with *de*, and that is the name of de Grey of Merton.

Mr. Nichols says, "It is an exceptional instance of the continued use of the particle not actually coalesced with the name," [as in Danvers.] And again, "The family of de Grey of Merton seems to have retained the prefix with great pertinacity."

After examining a great number of family documents from about 1300 downwards, I may say that I have found this statement to be in the main correct, although the junior branches of the family, *e.g.*, Grey of Carbrooke, Grey of Griston, Grey of Thompson, Grey of Cornerd, Grey of Bunwell, Grey of Lillington, seem to have dropped the prefix.

The genealogists mention many distinguished members of the de Grey family, before the de Greys of Merton branched off from it, and Norfolk men will not forget that it furnished their diocese with one of its most celebrated bishops. John de Grey was appointed Bishop of Norwich in 1200, and was buried in his cathedral in 1214.

The genealogists say that this bishop was the uncle of William de Grey, the first of Cavendish in Suffolk; and Cavendish was the first seat in England of the progenitor of the de Greys of Merton after their separation from the parent stem, so far as is at present known.

As to the documents of which a report is given in the following pages, I have found none relating to the history of the de Greys of Merton of a date previous to 1300.

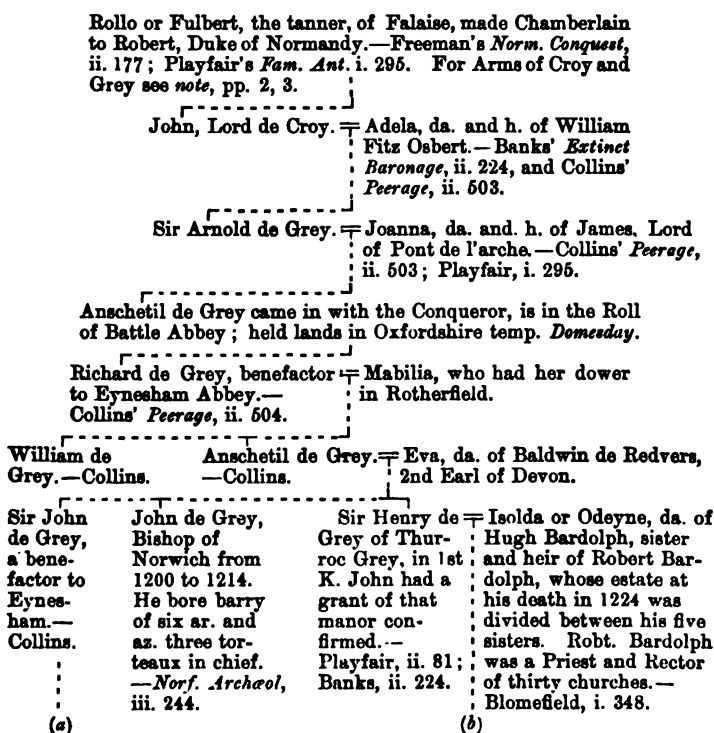
From 1300 till about 1500 there are many interesting deeds, some few of the earlier of these being transcripts from the Record Office, kindly given to me by my friend Mr. W. J. Hardy, to whom my best thanks are due.

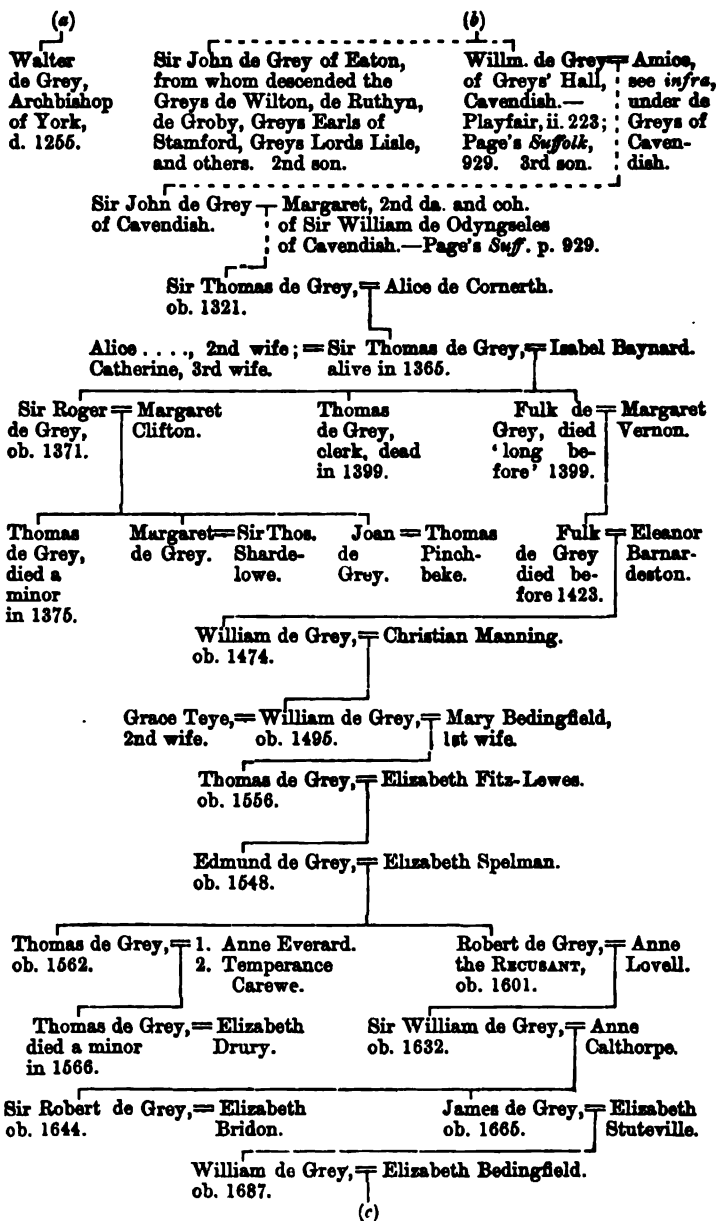
From about 1500 till 1800 most of the deeds have been verified as to their dates, by the sure evidence of the Merton tombs and registers.

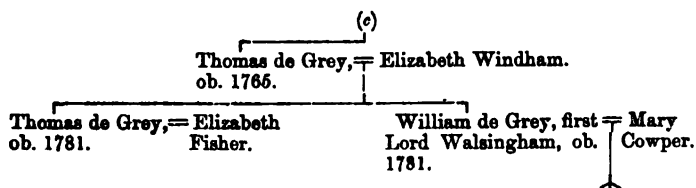
### Sketch Pedigree of de Grey of Merton.

The following Pedigree will enable the reader to understand the sequence of the personal muniments which are hereafter described. Younger sons—except those who succeeded to the estates—and females are omitted, but will be mentioned in their proper places.

I have given the early portion of the pedigree as found in the genealogical books, distinguishing it by dots instead of lines.







At about the time that the following interesting note was sent me by the Editor of this *Miscellany*, the Marquis de Sassenay, an able French genealogist, came, from independent research, to the same conclusion as Mr. Rye, that the family of de Grey is not descended from the Picard Croys, but from the Norman Graais, and is surnamed from the parish of Graie not far from Caen. With this opinion also M. Gaston le Hardy, the accomplished Secretary of the Antiquarian Society of Normandy, coincides; as does apparently M. A. Lower, in his *Patronymica Britannica*, quoting D'Anisy (*Recherches sur le Domesday*.) I give a few extracts from a letter of M. le Hardy. "Je pense que depuis Anchetil de Grey qui figure, je crois, sur toutes les listes des compagnons du Duc Guillaume, cette famille est devenu toute Anglaise . . . Ils étaient je pense originaires de la paroisse de Graye, canton de Ryes, sur le bord de la mer . . . Le vocable Graye est spécialisé par sa traduction latine Graeium qui n'a aucun rapport avec les autres noms de même consonnance, et qui dérivent de *gradus* ou de quelque autre source, et dans les textes anciens les membres de la famille sont désignés sous le nom de Graeio, de Graieio, de Grae, ce qui à mon sens rattache indubitablement leur origine au seul lieu que je connaisse en Normandie pour avoir porté un nom pareil."

#### EDITOR'S NOTE ON THE DE GREY PEDIGREE.

My objections to the early part of this pedigree, whether as given above or by Baker in his *History of Northampton*, Part i., p. 668, where he makes the third person 'Rainold or Arnold,' may shortly be put thus—

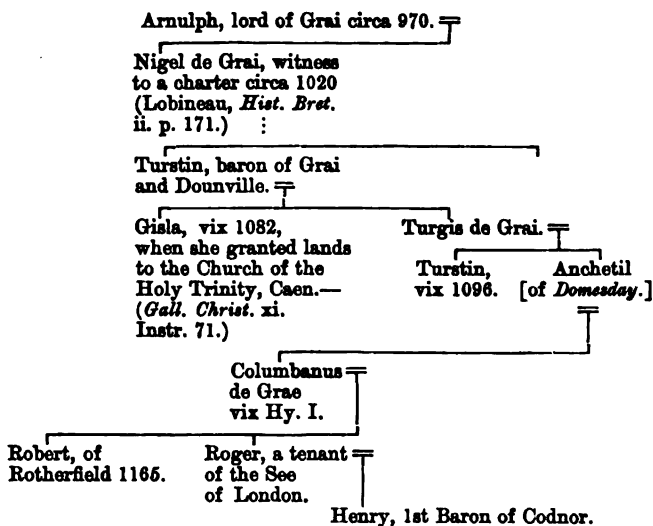
First.—It is absurd to say that any one man was ever known by two such different surnames as 'Rollo' and 'Fulberd.'



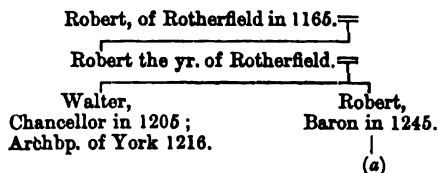
Secondly.—There is not the faintest trace that the De Croys of Picardy ever landed in England.

Thirdly.—The first Anchetil de Grey is said to have been Lord of Rotherfield, and to have died 10th William II. Now there was no doubt an Anchetil *de Grai* who held land in Oxford temp. *Domesday* (*Domesday*, i., p. 161 b.), but there is no reason to doubt that he came from a place of that name near Caen in the arrondissement of Bayeux in Normandy (D'Anisy.) But if we accept the descent from the Norman De Grai we must abandon that from the Picard De Croy.

It is not very creditable to the peerage makers and the heralds to find that they have missed altogether the earlier and interesting descent<sup>4</sup> of these Norman de Graia, which is as follows:—



The anonymous compiler of the volume just cited (as to whose industry and accuracy one cannot speak too highly) continues the pedigree of the elder branch thus—



<sup>4</sup> See *The Norman People*, London, 1871, p. 270.

(a)

Walter, ancestor of Lords Grey of Rotherfield.	Richard.	William, of Langly 1240.	Hugh, ancestor of the Barons Grey of Scotland.
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It will be noticed that he is silent as to the Anchetil de Grai and his son Richard who gave land to Eynesham Abbey, who may have been of a younger branch; but the whole pedigree is in such a tangle that I will give no opinion on it.

I may, however, point out that there is no proof whatever<sup>5</sup> offered that Anschetil, said to have been son of the last named Richard, had three sons, viz., John the 1st, John the 2nd (Bishop of Norwich in 1200), and Sir Henry de Grey of Thurrock Grey in 1195. It is all assertion, and what is worse, assertion of that arch scoundrel and pedigree concocter, Glover, once Somerset Herald. The Norwich Bishop was son of one *Hawisia* de Grey (Close Rolls, 9th Henry III., p. 68); but though this fact is new to his biographers, it does not help us to the name of his father. The present Dean of Norwich, with that charming faculty for blundering which is so characteristic of his archaeological writings, in his *Bosses*, p. 232, says, by the way, of the bishop, "His *grandfather*, Anschitel de Grey, was a *Norfolk* knight, who had come into the country in the train of William the Conqueror, from whom he obtained in requital of his services a grant of many lands in the county of *Norfolk*." Now Anschitel, the Conqueror's companion in arms, must have been born ante 1045 to have been in arms at Hastings; and here we have his grandson, the Bishop, dying in 1214. Truly a long-lived race! Of course, too, every one knows the name of Grey does not occur in the *Norfolk Domesday*.

That the Bishop was uncle to Walter de Grey, Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor, is sufficiently in evidence; but I see no proof that he was brother to Henry de Grey, who was of Thurrock Grey in Essex in 1195, and who was the reputed ancestor of the Merton family. That there is no proof is shown by Collins (ii. p. 5) making this Henry of Thurroc youngest brother of the Archbishop. All is really pure guesswork.

Nor, at present, do I see any evidence that Henry of Thurroc was father of (i) Richard, (ii) John (who were undoubtedly brothers), or (iii) William de Grey of Cavendish in Suffolk, who, I think, we may admit was the undoubted ancestor of the de Greys of Merton.

I do not find this William de Grey of Cavendish in the Hundred Roll, and Banks (ii. p. 224) seems to doubt the descent, while Collins (ii. p. 25) suggests another. Nothing is clear.

It is curious that everyone has overlooked that there were earlier *Suffolk* de Greys, who were much more probably ancestors of the Cavendish and

---

<sup>5</sup> That the early pedigree is all guesswork, is shown by Blomefield, iii. p. 478, saying the Bishop was son of *Richard*.

Merton family. In 3rd John, Robert de Grey had the custody of the farm and castle of Orford (Pipe Roll), &c. Richard de Grey was, apparently, rebel to the king; and an inquisition was held as to his possessions in the Hundred of Ho.—(Inq. p.m., 4th Edward I., § 83.) Again, there were *early Norfolk Greys*, for shortly after the Bishop a John de Grey, who married Lucia, had a son Henry, who was seventeen or fourteen in 56th Henry III.—(See Inq. p.m., Norfolk, Essex, and Notts.)

W. RYE.

### The de Greys of Cavendish.

When the progenitor of the de Greys of Merton branched off about 1250 from the parent stock, he is said to have settled at Cavendish in Suffolk.<sup>6</sup> Cavendish is a large village about six miles north-west of Sudbury. William de Grey, the grandfather of Sir Thomas who married Alice de Cornerd, is the first of the family who is mentioned as being of Cavendish, his manor there being called Grey's Hall. In 13th Edward I. (1285) he and his heirs had free warren in Great and Little Cornerthe, Kavendish, and Newton, in Suffolk, and of Chistelet [Chislet?] and Hopelaund in Kent. (Brit. Mus. *Add. MSS.* 19077.)

My friend Mr. W. J. Hardy, who has most kindly spent much time over the early Suffolk fines relating to the de Grey family, informs me that this William of Cavendish married an Amice who is mentioned in 7th Edward I. [No. 91, Easter] (1279,) and also in 12th Edward I. [No. 24, Martinmas] (1284,) and 15th Edward I. [Martinmas] (1287.) After this last date Mr. Hardy says that William disappears from the fines, and we may conclude that this was about the date of his death.

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<sup>6</sup> Graie. This most ancient family was settled at Graies in Cavendish in Babergh hundred, afterwards called Colts Hall. They were lords of Graies, Denston, and Stansfield manor, 8th Edward II. (1314-15), had one knight's fee in Cavendish, Waldingfield, Bures, Cornard, &c., in 3rd Henry VI., and bare Argent, a bend az. between three mullets gules; some say torteaux.

It is certain that a Thomas de Grey, supposed to be William's grandson, had free warren in lands in Cavendish in 30th Edward I. (1302), (see next page) and that Grey's Hall continued for some time in the family. Sir Roger de Grey of Merton, grandson of Sir Thomas the husband of Alice de Cornerd, by his will, dated 1371, left his manor of Cavendish in trust. Sir Roger's brother and heir, Thomas de Grey, clerk, sold it to Robert, Duke of Gloucester.

### Sir Thomas de Grey of Cavendish and Cornerd.

Box [c].

Sir Thomas was, according to the genealogists, son and heir of Sir John de Grey of Cavendish. He married Alice, daughter and heir of Sir Richard de Cornerth, lord of Great and Little Cornerth. Sir Thomas was probably the first de Grey who possessed the manor of Caxtons in Little Cornard. [See Part I., p. 558.] Sir Thomas de Grey died in 1321.<sup>7</sup> As his eldest son was then fifteen years old, it is probable that he was married about 1305. Mr. Hardy informs me that Thomas de Grey makes his first appearance in the fines, Morrow of All Souls, 32nd Edward I. (1304); and that he was, as above stated, dead on the Morrow of St. Martin, 16th Edward II. (1322,) "Alice who *was* the wife of Thomas de Grey" being then a deforciant. Mr. Hardy also gives me the authority for Blomefield's statement that Alice, in 1322, settled lands on her [younger] sons Roger and John.

Suffolk fines, 16th Edward II. (1322) No. 2f. Lands in Denardeston, Wykhambroke, &c., "After the said Alice,

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<sup>7</sup> Terr. et tent. in Hengham Sibilla, &c., que fuer. Tho. de Gray a primo die Jan. a<sup>o</sup> xv. Ed. II. (1321) quo die idem Tho. obiit, &c.—*Hart. MSS.* No. 971, p. 99.

to Roger, son of Thomas de Grey, and the heirs of his body, and if Roger die without heir of his body, remainder to John, brother of the same Roger; and if John die without heir, remainder to right heirs of Alice for ever."

Mr. Hardy mentions the following fines in which Thomas de Grey and Alice his wife are querentes. No. 93, Easter, 3rd Edward II. (1310), Octaves of Purification of B. V. M., 7th Edward II. (1314), Hilary, 15th Edward II. (1322).

Blomefield, under Merton, gives an account of the lands held in 1321 by Sir Thomas and Alice, in Cornerd, Cavendish, and the neighbouring parishes, worth per annum £30. 13s. 10d.

Sir Thomas de Grey bore his wife's arms, Azure, a fess between two chevrons or, instead of his own, Barry of six ar. and az., as did most of his descendants till 1781. Though Sir Thomas is always given the dignity of knighthood by the genealogists, I have not seen the title applied to him in any authentic document.

16th February, 30th Edward I. (1302.) This is a copy of a charter roll, and is a grant of free warren from the king to Thomas de Grey on lands in Bures, Gavendish [Cavendish], Denardeston [Denston], Parva Cornerthe and Stanefield [Stansfield], all in Suffolk, and of Heneham-Sibill [Sible-Hedingham] in Essex. Witnesses, John de Waren Earl of Surrey, Adam de Valencia, John de Britannia, John de St. John senior, Hugh de Veer, Hugh le Despenser, Walter de Bello Campo seneschal of our hospital [hospitium], and others.

16th Edward II. Tuesday after the Feast of the Translation of Thomas the Martyr (1322.) Copy of inquisition after the death of Thomas de Grey. Essex.—The jury say that at the time of his death he had no lands in Essex, but that the said Thomas and Alicia [de Cornerd] his wife, who survives, had of Alicia's a messuage and land in Hengham-Sybyle [Sible-Hedingham] . . . also that Thomas and Alicia held the manor and advowson of Little Henye, which they acquired from Thomas de Heryet and held of

the heir of Peter de Redleye by knight's service . . . also they say that Thomas, son of the said Thomas, is his next heir and is fifteen years old. **SUFFOLK.**—This jury say that Thomas de Grey and Alicia his wife, who survives, held lands in Cornerd Magna in socage of the Abbess of Malling . . . also that they held the manor of Cavendish by two fines levied of Richard de Cornerde in the court of our lord the king . . . also that they held lands in Little Cornerd, Bures, Neuton, Waldyngfeld, I . . . lleygh, Preston, Thorpe, and Lellyseye, of William de Bottevilleyn . . . also that they held lands in Denardiston of Arnulf de Mounteny.

11th Edward II., part 2, memb. 28 (1317-18.) Copy of licence for Thomas de Grey to give certain lands in Parva Cornerde, Magna Cornerde, Newton, and Bures, to the convent of Malling, in exchange for certain lands in the same villis.

### Sir Thomas de Grey of Merton.

Box [c].

Sir Thomas was son and heir of Sir Thomas and Alice (de Cornerd) his wife. He was fifteen years old in 1322. He is called in 1338 "of Grays Hall, Cavendish," where probably he resided till he became owner of Merton through his marriage with Isabel, daughter and coheir of Fulk Baynard.

#### BAYNARD OF MERTON.

The family of Baynard had possessed Merton since the Conquest. Merton was previously held as we see in *Domesday* by Ailid (Æthelgyth, as suggested by Freeman), a free Saxon woman. Merton, in the time of Edward the Confessor and of King Harold, had seventeen *villani* (occupiers of land at the will of the lord, on condition of performing certain services, such as ploughing, &c.), three *bordarii* (cottagers, having, as Mr. Seebohm explains, small allotments in the open fields, but keeping no oxen for ploughing), and six *servi* or serfs, who were in fact slaves. This class was fast recovering its freedom, and at the Survey in 1086 there were in Merton, as in many other places, none left. Merton had six *villani* and one *bordarius* at the time of the Survey.

Ralph Baynard came over with the Conqueror, and held Merton and fifty-one other manors in Norfolk alone.—*Norfolk Domesday*.

Dugdale, 461, says that Ralph Baynard's grandson William forfeited, temp. Henry I., through rebellion, the vast barony of Baynards Castle. The castle itself was in London, and gives its name to one of the city wards. Some of the manors, however, (Merton, and Baynards in Bunwell, among them), were granted by the king to William's cousin, Sir Robert Baynard. His grandson's grandson, according to the genealogists, was Fulk, whose daughter and coheiress, Isabel, married Sir Thomas de Grey the first of Merton.

The writer of *The Norman People* thus accounts for the name "Baynard." Radulphus Duke of Aquitaine,—descended from Abbo, who was Count of Poitiers in 778,—had a descendant, Radulphus (Ralph), living in 1056, whose sons were named Bénard or Bainard. One of these was Ralph Bainard, Viscount of Lude, and it was his son (Jeffrey) who forfeited Bainard's Castle. (For the descent of Baynard's Castle see *infra*, under Sir William de Grey, *note*.)

The tower of Merton church is the only remnant of the church built in the time of the Baynards. It is of early or of rough Norman work. The rest of the church is of very beautiful Decorated work with some Perpendicular additions.

To return to Sir Thomas de Grey. He did not actually possess the manor of Merton till the death of Katherine Baynard, mother of Isabel, the said Katherine holding it in dower. [See p. 563, Part I.] Katherine died, almost certainly, before 21st Edward III. (1347), [Part I., p. 564] and Sir Thomas de Grey held his first court for Merton, Tuesday after the Feast of St. Lucy the Virgin, 23rd Edward III. (1349), [Part I. p. 565.] He is then styled *Miles*.

"Sir Thomas and Isabel in 1327 settled the manor of Merton, lands in Hockwold, and the manor and advowson of Bunwell, on themselves in tail, Merton manor being then held by Katherine, widow of Fulk Baynard, in dower."—(Blomefield) see also Merton court-roll that date, and fine, 12th Edward III. (next page.)

20th Edward III. (1346.) From the aid then taken we find that "Thomas de Grey held in Merton one knight's fee of John Fitz Walter and he of the king, which fee

was formerly Fulk Baynard's. Of which fee Thomas Gernon [Part I., p. 577] held of the said Thomas a quarter."—Rye's *Misc.* i. 28. "A knight's fee was assumed to contain four normal hides, and a normal hide was one hundred and twenty acres, but the hide seems to have varied much."—Seebohm's *Village Com.*, pp. 37—40.

Merton was probably the principal residence of the Baynards in Norfolk, for Mr. Carthew in his *History of East Bradenham*, p. 101, says that Robert Baynard,—I suppose Sir Robert, temp. Henry I.,—"to whom several lordships in Norfolk were granted, was styled of Merton." And there is little doubt that after the death of Isabel de Grey's mother, Catherine Baynard, it became and continued the principal residence of the de Greys of Cavendish and Cornard.

Thomas Grey of Cavendish is mentioned as escheator for the counties of Cambridge and Hunts in 26th and 27th Edward III. (1352-53.)—Hailstone's *History of Bottisham*, p. 282.

Sir Thomas left three sons, Roger, Thomas, and Fulk, of whom the two former successively owned the estates.

Easter, 12th Edward III. (1338.) Copy. Fine (*Finalis Concordia*) before John de Stonore, Willm. de Sharesull, John Inge, John de Shardelowe, Richard de Aldeburgh, Roger Hillary, Willm. Scot', and Willm Basset, justices, between Thomas de Grey and Isabel [Baynard] his wife, querentes, and Willm. de Hertherst and Robert Gyffard, deforcianta, of the manors of Bunwell and Merton, and a messuage in Hockwold, and the advowson of Bunwell. Katherine, who was the wife of Fulk Banyard, held the manor of Merton and the messuage in Hockwold in dower, which after the decease of the said Katherine, &c., and if the said Thomas and Isabel die without heirs, then the manor of Merton to remain to the right heirs of the said Thomas, and the manor and advowson of Bunwell and the messuage in Hockwold to remain to the right heirs of Isabel. [There is a counterpart of the original of



this fine in the Shadwell muniment-room. It proves that Thomas de Grey was the husband of Isabel (Baynard) in 1338, and that Katherine Baynard (the mother of Isabel) was then alive.]

Thomas de Grey held one fee in Willinghale Spain in Essex till 1384, when he released it, as appears by the following writ.

6th July, 8th Richard II. (1384.) No. 100. Copy. Between Sir Thomas de Grey of Cavendish, Knt., and Thomas his son, and Roger de Wolferton, Roger Ketterich, and William Spice. [The capital manor of Willinghall Spain belonged to the Spice family.—*Morant's Essex.*]

The assize comes to recognize if Roger de Wolferton and the others have justly deseised Sir Thomas de Grey of Cavendish, Knt., and Thomas his son, of their freehold in Willinghale Spain, &c., and proof is given that both Sir Thos. and his son released all their right, &c.

22nd Edward III. (1348-9.) Copy. Thom. de Grey, mil. feoff. Joh'es le Grey, p'son eccl'ie de Geldam [Yeldham?], Joh'em de Aspall milit', Tho. de Clopton, Robt. Giffard, Joh'em de Bradfield p'son' eccl'ie de Halsted, Walter' le Cressener, Joh'em le Cavendishe' p'son eccl'ie de Fornham St. Martin, de m'n'iis suis de Cavendish, &c. Et postea idem Joh'es, Joh'es, Walt'us, Joh'es feoffaverunt pred' Tho. de Grey and Katerin ux. ejus de m'n'io pred. tenend. sibi et hered. suis, &c.

[This document, in which Sir Thomas de Grey of Cavendish and Katherine his wife are mentioned, must, I think, relate to Sir Thomas of Cavendish, Cornerd, and Merton, who married Isabel Baynard. But if the name of the wife is here correctly given, Sir Thomas must have had three wives, viz., Isabel, alive in 1327 and 1338, Katherine, alive in 1348, and Alice (see Sir Roger's will, *infra*), alive in 1371.]

Wednesday after the Feast of St. Ambrose, 39th Edward III. (1365.) Feoffment of Baynard's manor. In this deed, dated from Hadyston [Bunwell], Mons. Thomas de Grey, chivaler,

enfeoffs William, son of Johan Baude, chivaler,<sup>s</sup> ffouke de Grey fitz a dit Mons. Thomas, Johan de Multon, p'sone del eglise de Stanstede, William de Kedyngham, p'sone de la moite del eglise de Hedyrsete, Hugh (?), p'sone del eglise de petite henye, Johan Welde, and William Roklond, in the manor of Hadyston [Baynards in Bunwell], and part of the advowson of Bonewelle, they giving £20 a year to the said Mons. Thomas and his heirs.

Tesmoignes, Ad'm de Clifton, chivaler, Rob't Corbett, chivaler, Johan Mauteby, chivaler, Johan de Cavendyssh, Ad'm fitz Ad'm de Clyfton, chivaler, et autres.

The seal is a beautiful one, and has the arms of de Grey [Cornerd] with the legend, "Sigillum [Thome de Grey?]"

This deed was given to Lord Walsingham in 1883 by Sir Robert Burton, Bart., to whose ancestor it had passed from the de Greys with Baynards' manor in Bunwell. It proves that Sir Thos. de Grey who married Isabel Baynard was alive in April, 39th Edward III. (1365), though his eldest son, Sir Roger, held his first court for Caxtons 37th Edward III. (1363), [Part I., p. 560], and for Merton 38th Edward III. (1364), [Part I., p. 565.]

It seems, then, that Sir Thomas gave in his lifetime his manors of Merton and Caxtons to his eldest son, Sir Roger, and by this deed his manor of Baynards to feoffees, among whom was his youngest son Fulk. For other instances of a father giving up during his lifetime his estate to his son, see *supra*, Part I., p. 594, and *infra*, under Thomas de Grey, father of Edmund. But, in this instance of Sir Thomas, there might have been a reason, apart from affection for his sons, why he gave up his manors, for it is upon record that he was in debt. (See *infra*, under Sir Roger's will.)

## Sir Roger de Grey.

Box [c].

He was eldest son and heir of Sir Thomas and Isabel [Baynard.] He married Margaret, daughter of Sir Roger Clyfton of Buckenham. His father resigned to him the manors of Merton and Caxtons in Cornerd, as above stated. He held his first court for the latter manor in 37th

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\* These feoffees held their first court for the manor 17th October in the same year, as appears by a court-roll at Shadwell. "Hadeston. Prima curia Will'mi Baude, Fulconis de Grey, et sociorum suorum," &c. For the continuance of this feoffment see Part I., p. 586.

Edward III., and for the former in 38th Edward III. He had one son, who died a minor, and two daughters, the elder of whom married Sir Thos. de Shardelowe of Barton, (Gage's *Thingoe*, p. 825)—one of the two brothers who were founders of Thompson College, near Merton; and the younger,<sup>9</sup> Thomas Pynchbeke.

The daughters seem to have died young. Both died, I think before 2nd Henry IV. (1400-1), because in that year the court of the manor of Merton was held by the Earl of Rutland as superior lord; the owner, Richard Pynchbek being a minor. See *supra*, Part i., p. 566. Pro-

<sup>9</sup> This seems an appropriate place to record the discovery at Merton Hall, since the publication of Part I. of this Report, of two interesting documents relating to Thompson College, and of a MS. by Blomefield. These should properly have been noticed in Part I., page 606. They will be found in box [e 2].

The first document is dated 7th April, 1350, and is the donation to the College, of the church and tithes of Thompson, by Sir Thomas de Shardelowe and John his brother, with the consent of the Bishop of Norwich (Bateman), and of the prior (Bozoun.) It has two fine seals. One is the episcopal seal of Bishop Bateman with his office seal in reverse, in red wax, with a case or frame of yellow wax [for a description of this rare seal see *Norfolk Archaeology*, vol. i., 315]; the other is the seal of the priory chapter. Both seals are affixed to the deed by pea-green silken cord in perfect condition. The Bishop dates from his palace at Thornage.

The second document is dated 12th April, 32nd Henry VIII. (1541), and is the original grant of Thompson College by Henry VIII. to Sir Edmund Knevet, Knt., in as ample a manner as Robert Awdeley, clerk, the last master and the brethren (confratres) possessed it . . . to hold of us and our successors in capite by the service of a twentieth part of a knight's fee (105s. 6½d.) . . . license also granted to convert to private use the rectories of Thompson and Shropham, with the tithes, &c. [The above fee appears to have become the property of Lord Walpole, who, 31st December, 1789, sold it to the then owner of Thompson College, and so it became merged.]

The MS. by Blomefield, of twelve pages quarto, contains a transcript of the first of the above documents, which the writer had seen at Thompson; transcripts also of other documents relating to the college; and some notes, most of which he afterwards used for his history under Thompson. The MS. is signed "Fran: Blomefield Caij. 1725."

bably Richard died soon after, and, upon failure of heirs to Sir Roger, the estates passed, according to Blomefield, to Sir Roger's brother, Thomas de Grey, clerk, and at his death to his nephew Fulk, who certainly in 1405—8 held his first courts for Merton and Caxton's manors.

Sir Roger, it is stated in his inquisition, 1371, (*infra*) travelled on the Continent from about Whitsuntide to November, 1369. I suppose he intended to travel again, and was on his way to do so in 1371 when he was taken ill at Dover, where he made his will. He died soon afterwards. It is a good point in his character that he made provision for paying his father's debts. He also had before his death increased the annuity to his father's wife Alice. His widow, Margaret, married secondly Sir John Lakynheth.

22nd December, 1371. Will of Sir Roger de Grey, Knt.: "C'est ma darrein volonte que come moy Roger Grey Chivaler a granté & done mes biens & chateux a certains persones, &c. . . . & le dit Roger voet que oue [avec] ses dites biens & chateux ses dettes soient pleinement paieiz. Et auxi que come le dit Roger eit enfeoffe Monsieur William Bawde, Robert Kedyngtone, Geffre de Hundone, William Ketryngham cler., & William Hore en les manoirs de Cavendyssehe peti Cornerthe & Denestone en le counte de Suffolke & le manoir de Mertone en le counte de Norf. Et le dit Roger voet que le profit que poit estre ressu du manoir de Cavendyssehe soit paie as dettes de Monsieur Thomas Grey son piere outre ceo que Madame Dame Alicie Grey sa feme print chescun an du dit manoir vint<sup>1</sup> marcs . . . . auxi del manoir de Denestone que Mestre Thomas Grey mon frere eit sa annuite de xx<sup>2</sup> marcs . . . . auxi du

<sup>1</sup> In Sir Roger's inq. p. m., 46th Edward III. (1372), Tuesday after Ascension Day, the jury say that for two years and more before his death he had granted Alice a rent of forty marks.

<sup>2</sup> In the same inquisition it is stated that the annuity of twenty marks had been paid for four years and more before the death of Sir Thomas, but that a rent of £40 which Sir Thomas in 1364 had granted to his son Thomas, had not been paid.

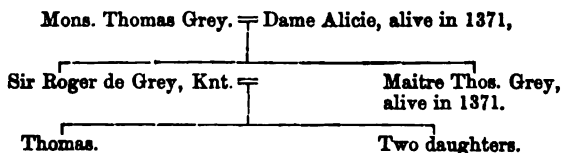
manoir de Hadestone . . . le profit . . . soit garde per xv aunz<sup>3</sup> al use del mariage de mes deux filles . . . Thomas mon fils . . . si ma feme se tiegne saunz mary je voil . . . que el avoit profit par terme de sa vie, &c. . . Doue a Douver le Lundy proschein apres le feste de seint Thomas Apostel l'an du roy Edw. tierce puis le conquest quarantisme cynke." (December 22nd, 1371.)—*Harl. MSS.* No. 10, fo. 1 b, 2 a. The original will is or was in the Probate Office, Norwich.

Mr. Tallack of Norwich has kindly copied from the old copy of the probate which still remains, though separated from the old copy of the will, the following:—

"Die xi Decembris anno supradicto [1371] probatum fuit testamentum Domini Rogeri Grey militis," &c.

It will be observed that, according to the dates, the will was proved ten days before, and the inquisition 24th October, 1371, taken two months before, the will was made; and that according to both inquisitions Sir Roger died three months before his will was made. There is, however, no doubt about the authenticity of the will. It is possible that the will was made on the Monday before the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas [July 3rd], in which case all would be clear.

#### PEDIGREE DEDUCIBLE.



24th October, 45th Edward III. (1371.) Copy. Inquis. p. m. of Sir Roger de Grey for his lands at Cavendish, taken at Clare in

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<sup>3</sup> Blomefield says that the de Grey's Bunwell manor was ordered to be sold by Sir Roger de Grey in 1371, and he gives its history till, as he says, it was repurchased by Thomas de Grey, clerk, before 1402. But a note *supra*, Part i., p. 586, shows that the manor was in the hands of the de Grey feoffees from the time of Sir Roger's father till it passed about 1450 to William de Grey and his heirs. The will of Sir Roger only says that the profits are to be kept back for fifteen years to make portions for his daughters.

Suffolk on Friday before the Feast of SS. Simon and Jude, 45th Edward III. The jurors find that he held in his demesne as of fee thirty-two acres of wood in Cavendysh of the king, and also that he held the manor of Cavendysh, called Greyeshalle, of the Earl of March and others. He also held the manor of Denardeston.

About Whitsuntide, 43rd Edward III. (1369) the said Roger, without licence of the king, enfeoffed certain persons of these lands, &c., he Roger then intending to travel, on the condition that on his return to England he should re-enter.

Roger returned about 1st November, 1369, and re-entered, &c.

The jurors say that Roger de Grey, Chev., died on (? 5th) September last past (? 5th September, 1371), and that Adam<sup>4</sup> is son and next heir, aged half a year.

46th Edward III., Tuesday after Ascension of the Blessed Virgin Mary (August 17th or 18th, 1372.) Copy. Inquis. p. m. of Sir Roger de Grey for Denston and Cavendish, made on the prayer of Alice, late the wife of Thomas de Grey, father of Roger, and on the prayer of Thomas de Grey, son of [Sir] Thomas, brother of the said Roger. The jury say that Sir Thomas, father of Sir Roger, being of full age . . . and out of prison . . . had the manor of Denardeston, and granted out of it in September, 1364, to Thomas de Grey his son, an annuity of £40. The manor was held of the Earl of Stafford as of his Honor of Gloucester. Twenty marcs had been paid, but not the £40. Also they say that Sir Roger, being of full age and out of prison, had the manor of Grey's Hall in Cavendish, and granted out of it an annuity of forty marcs to Alice, wife of the said Sir Thomas. The manor was held of the Earl of La Marche as of the Honor of Clare,<sup>5</sup>

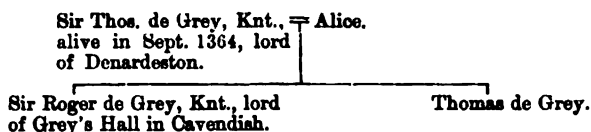
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<sup>4</sup> In Sir Roger's will (1371) his son and heir is called Thomas, as he is also in the inquis. p. m. of this Thomas taken 1st September, 7th Ric. II. (1383) *q. v. infra*. Adam was the name of the brother of Margaret de Grey, mother of Thomas. That Sir Roger had not a child Adam is proved by the inq. p. m. of 6th Richard II. (1382) *q. v. infra*.

<sup>5</sup> "Madox tells us that the Honor of Clare consisted of 131 knights' fees."—Hailstone's *Bottisham*, p. 3. For a knight's fee see *supra*, p. 15. If the figures are correct, the Honor of Clare comprised 62,880 acres. "*Honour* is a term used for the more noble sort of seigniories, whereof other inferior lordships or mannours do depend."—*Norfolk Archaeology*, ix. 338.

and of John de Cavendish, and Thomas Cornerde, and John Boldeſore.

PEDIGREE DEDUCIBLE.



46th Edward III. (1372-3.) Assig nation of dower of [Margaret], wife of "D'ni Rog'i de Grey, militis, out of [Caxton's manor in] Cornerd P'va, being in the hole xj<sup>li</sup>. ixs. vj<sup>d</sup>., called also t'cia p's man'ij de Caxtones." Caxton. To wit, Assignment of the dower of the wife of Sir Roger de Grey, Knt., anno 46. First there are delivered to her, within the site of the manor, one grange next the gate; one chamber next the strauhaus; one cattle shed on the north part, with one chamber next the under solar [lord's parlour]; item one other chamber in the dairy [deieria?] on the north part; item one parcel of the cart house on the south part, and a dove cote in common. Item there is delivered to her that part of the garden which lies on the west part, as it is divided by the other boundaries; excepting the lord shall water his beasts there, and shall have, if he wishes it, water for his expense there. Item there is delivered to her her common rights [communia sua] in the court of the said manor, to administer her goods and chattels there, with free ingress and egress. Sum of the value per annum beyond the reprises—nothing.

Then follows the description and value of the lands assigned as the dower.

25th September, 6th Richard II. (1382.) Copy. Inquis. p. m. of Sir Roger de Grey, chevalier, taken at Henhowe in Suffolk. . . . Roger died 16th September, 45th Edward III. (1371.) . . . . Margaret, daughter of the said Roger, and wife of Sir Thomas Shardlowe, Chevalier, is his next heir . . . . aged nineteen and upwards . . . . Names of those who had the wardship of Margaret mentioned.

With the above Inquisition is a Writ, dated 16th November,

1382. It recites that Roger de Grey, Chevalier, died, leaving *Adam* his son and next heir of the age of half a year, and that the lands, &c., by the death of Roger, and by reason of the minority of one *Thomas*, son and heir of the same Roger, &c. . . . who died whilst under age . . . came into the king's hands.

The escheator is to find out if there ever was such a person as Adam (*si aliquis hujus modi Adam fuerit*) and if Margaret is now the next heir.

It was found that the lands, &c., came into the king's hands by reason of the minority of Thomas, son and heir of the said Roger, and not by reason of the nonage of Adam, son and heir of the said Roger, because there never was such an Adam in the nature of things (*quia dicunt quod nunquam fuit talis Adam in rerum natura*) as the writ supposes. Margaret is the next heir.

6th Henry IV., Feast of SS. Philip and James (May 1st, 1405.) Copy. Inquis. p. m. Margaret, widow of Sir Roger de Grey. Roger and Sir Thos. his father seized of the manor of Stanfield. Roger died without heir of his body issuing.<sup>6</sup> Margaret's second husband, Sir John Lakynghethe. Margaret had Stanfield manor<sup>7</sup> in dower. After her death Richard Basyngham had Stanfield in the name of Fulk de Grey, son of Fulk, brother of Roger. Adam de Clyfton was brother and next heir of Margaret, and more than sixty years old. Agnes, the wife of Sir Thomas Mortimer, died 4th Henry IV.

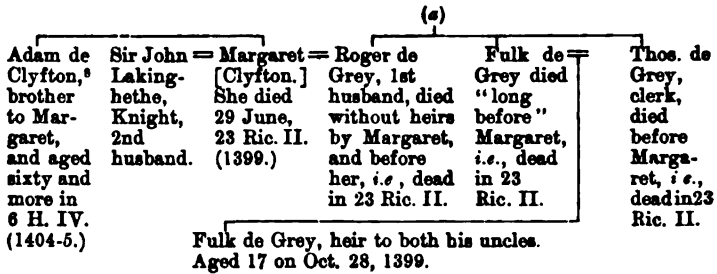
#### PEDIGREE DEDUCIBLE FROM THIS INQUISITION.

Sir Thos. de Grey =  
died before his son Roger. |  
(a)

<sup>6</sup> I cannot account for these words. There was an heir male, Thomas, though he died in August, 1375, i.e., four years after his father, and being then nearly four years and a half old. (See next page.) His sister Margaret, wife of Sir Thos. Shardelowe, was then nineteen and her brother's heir. (See Inquis. August, 1382.)

<sup>7</sup> Stanfield manor, except a fourth part called Narforde's tenement, is holden of the Earl of March, then a minor; Narforde's tenement is holden of the Countess of Warwick as of her manor of Panneworth.





### Thomas de Grey.

#### Box [c].

He was only son of Sir Roger and Margaret [de Clyfton] his wife. He was half a year old at his father's death, 5th September, 1371, and he died August 26th, 1375, being four years and five months old, leaving his elder sister Margaret Shardelowe as his heir.

1st September, 7th Richard II. (1383.) Inquisition taken at Henhowe, Suffolk, on Tuesday after the Feast of the Assumption of the B. V. M. Lands in Cavendysh, &c., come to the king on Roger's death, by reason of the minority of Roger's heirs. States day of death of Thomas, as above, and that his sister Margaret, aged nineteen, is his heir. [From original in the Record Office.]

### Thomas de Grey, Clerk.

#### [Box c].

He was next brother to Sir Roger, and upon the death of his nephew and two nieces, Sir Roger's children, and, as it appears, of Mrs. Pynchbek's son and heir, Richard, [Part 1, p. 566] he held, as Blomefield says, (though

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<sup>a</sup> His inq. p. m., dated 21st December, 1410, states that he died 28th November, 1410; his wife Margaret survived him; Robert was his son and next heir, aged twenty-six.

Blomefield is certainly wrong in the date, which was not 1402), all the Norfolk estates of the de Greys. It is, however, I think doubtful if he did hold all the estates, for in a De Banco Roll, Mich., 1st Henry IV., memb. 180, as Mr. Greenstreet informs me, *Fulk* is said to be "cousin and heir to Margaret" [Shardelowe,] thus passing by entirely his uncle Thomas de Grey, clerk; and Merton manor, at any rate, seems to have passed direct from Richard Pynchbek to Fulk de Grey, for Richard Pynchbek was alive certainly in 2nd Henry IV. (1400-1) [Part I, p. 566] and Thomas de Grey, clerk, died before 1299. Fulk, the nephew, held his first court for Merton in 1406 [Part I., p. 567] *i.e.*, three years after he came of age. Probably Richard Pynchbek died in 1406.

Octaves of St. Hilary [Jan. 20th], 49th Edward III. (1376.) Copy. Fine before Robert Bealknapp', Willm. de Wichyngham, Roger de Kirketon, and Roger de Fulthorp, justices, between Thomas Grey, clerk, Master John Felbrigg, clerk, and John Lakynghethe, clerk, querentes, and Fulk Grey and Margaret [Vernon] his wife, deforcianta, of land in Somerton and Wynterton.

15th May, 21st Richard II. (1398.) Writ to enquire of whom the manor of Grays, [in Cavendish] Suffolk, is held, the reversion of which Thomas, late Duke of Gloucester, acquired in fee simple of Master Thomas Grey, clerk, and which reversion (by reason of the said Duke's forfeiture) pertains to us [the king.] The king probably sold it, for in 3rd Henry IV. (1402) Agnes, Lady Bardolph, wife of Sir Thomas Mortimer and daughter of Sir Michael Poynings, released to Robert, Lord Poynings, and others, who purchased of Lady Agnes (Brit. Mus., *Davy MSS.*, under Cavendish); and in 5th Henry IV. (1403-4) "Rex concessit Johanni Pelham militi in feodo Manerium de Caundish Grey."—Brit. Mus., *Add. MSS.*, 19077.

From the above writ it seems certain that the manor of Greys Hall in Cavendish, which had been in the de Grey family probably at least for four generations, was sold away by Thomas de Grey, clerk.

Thomas de Grey was dead before 1399, see *supra*, under Sir Roger de Grey. He was succeeded by his nephew Fulk, son of Fulk and Margaret [Vernon] his wife. (See below.)

### **Fulk de Grey.**

Box [c].

He was younger brother of Thomas de Grey, clerk. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir John Vernon of Vernon's manor in Elme, Cambs, and heir to her brother Thomas. (For proof of this see *infra*, in abstract 2 Oct. 1436.) Fulk died "long before" Margaret, widow of Sir Roger, *i.e.*, long before 1399. (See *supra*, under Sir Roger.) He was certainly alive in 1376. (See *supra*, fine 49th Edward III., last page.) He left a son and heir, Fulk. There is no evidence as to any other children.

### **Fulk de Grey.**

Box [c].

He was son and heir of Fulk, by his wife Margaret Vernon. By an inquisition taken on the Feast of St. Mary Magd., 6th Henry IV. (22nd July, 1405) it was found that "Fulk de Grey, son of Fulk, brother of Roger, son of Thomas, was born at Haddenham on the Feast of SS. Simon and Jude, 6th Richard II. (28th October, 1382), and that he was baptized at the church of the Holy Trinity there." On the death of his uncle, Thomas de Grey, clerk, who died before 1399, Fulk became heir to the estates, and was of age on October 28th, 1403. (See pedigree, last page but one.)

After the death of Thomas de Grey, clerk, the Earl of March, son of the now Earl of March, as lord of a tenement held of him in Denardeston by the de Greys, seized the said tenement, with the wardship of the body of the said Fulk son of Fulk, brother of the same Thomas de Grey,

clerk. And the custody and marriage of Fulk, the son of Fulk, was granted to divers persons. [Inquis. p. m. of Margaret, widow of Sir Roger de Grey, taken May 1st, 6th Henry IV. (1405.)]

Fulk de Grey, as appears by the Manor Rolls, held his first court for the manors of Merton and Cornerd 7th Henry IV. (1405-6.) He held the manor of Vernon's in Elme after his mother's death. He married Eleanor Barnardeston, but nothing certain is known about her. That she was believed to be an heiress in 1665 is proved by the arms on the stone of James de Grey, one of the quarterings of which is, A fesse indented ermine between six crosslets argent: the arms of Barnardiston. That she was believed not to be an heiress at a date much earlier is equally certain from a coat of arms that still remained in Merton church temp. Elizabeth, *i.e.*, about one hundred and fifty years after her death. "Graye, Azure, a fece betwene ij chevrons or, and sidethe (impales) Barneston, Azure, a fece dance ermen."—*Ashmole MS.* 792, ii. fo. 12.

Fulk de Grey died before 1423, see charter 1423, next page.

## William de Grey.

Box [c].

William de Grey was, it is believed, the only son of his father, Fulk, at whose death he was a minor and under the guardianship of Sir Robert Clyfton. For William de Grey's marriage with Christian Manning, and an account of the Bury Hall manor see Part I., p. 587. William de Grey sold Vernon's manor in Elme, Cambs, which had descended to him from his grandmother. He had, in addition to the family estates of Cornerd and Merton, the profits of Baynard's manor in Bunwell. He left certainly one daughter, Christian, in addition to his son and heir,

William. William de Grey died, according to Blomefield, (who gives a copy of the inscription, now gone, on his gravestone) on the Feast of St. Martin, 1474. Both William de Grey and his wife were buried in Merton nave, under a stone which still has the arms of Manning, viz., Quarterly, azure and gules, over all a cross patonce between four trefoils slipped or, as well as the arms of de Grey (Cornard.)

1st June, 1st Henry VI. (1423.) Copy. Sir Robert Clyfton, Knt., recites that the custody of William Grey, son of Fulk Grey, deceased, is in his hands, together with the custody of the manors of Bonewell and Merton, and by this present charter, in consideration of the sum of £100, grants him a licence to marry whom and when it shall please him, as also the profits and issues of the manor of Bonewell from the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel last past, reserving to himself for a time the issues, &c., of the manor of Merton. Seal,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. in diameter, a shield couché, with the arms of Clyfton, Chequy or and gules, a bend ermine; with, as crest, a stag's head. Legend, "Sigillum roberti clyfton chevaler."

Though it appears by the above deed that the *revenues* of Baynard's manor in Bunwell were in William de Grey's hands, I find by a roll at Shadwell that the *courts* were held by feoffees, see Part I., p. 586.

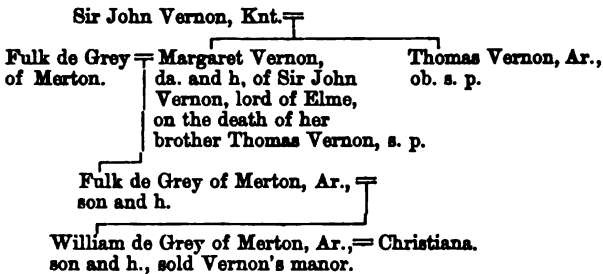
The Sir Robert Clyfton who had the custody of William, is, no doubt, the Sir Robert mentioned *supra*, Part I., p. 586, *q. v.* I cannot identify the de Grey who was Alice Clyfton's first husband, though no doubt he was of the Merton family, as his effigy was in Merton church. Blomefield says that Sir Robert Clyfton died in 1442, and Alice in 1455.

2nd October, 1436. This is an abstract of a document which states how William de Grey became possessed of Vernon's manor in Elme, Cambs, and to whom he sold it.

The translation of this abstract is as follows: "Terrier of Gilbert Haultoft of Outwell, of his manor in Elme called Vernons, which manor the same Gilbert bought and purchased of William de

Grey of Merton in co. Norf., the son of Fulk, the son of Fulk Grey and Margaret his wife, sister and heir of Thomas Vernon, Arm., son of John Vernon, Knt., the said Thomas Vernon dying without issue begotten of his body. Renewed in the year of our Lord 1436, and the second day of October, in the fifteenth year of the reign of King Henry VI. (1436) after the Conquest, about which manor a certain fine was levied in the king's court in the same fifteenth year against the aforesaid Gilbert, by the said William Grey and Christian his wife."

PEDIGREE DEDUCIBLE.



Gilbert Haultoft, Baron of the Exchequer, by his will, dated 10th Jan., 1457, left Vernon's manor to his daughter Alicia, after the death of his wife Margaret. See *Norf. Archæol.*, viii. 180.

3rd November, 1474. Will of William de Grey. Body to church of St. Peter at Merton; to the high altar there 20*s.*; to the fabric of the same church xxv*js.* viij*d.*; to the fabric of the church of New Buckenham x*s.*; to Thomas Yelverton<sup>9</sup> viij*s.* iiij*d.*; to Margerie Yelverton<sup>1</sup> viij*s.* iiij*d.*; to Thomas Wodehouse<sup>2</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Thomas Yelverton is doubtless the son of William Yelverton of Rougham, and grandson of Sir William, the Judge. When Sir William died (about 1470) a dispute arose between his son and heir, William, and another William, son and heir of John Yelverton of Rackheath, and cousin of the said Sir William. The dispute was referred to arbitration, and William Grey was one of the arbitrators. (R. C. 675.)—Note by Dr. Jessopp.

<sup>1</sup> Margerie Yelverton may have been the wife of John Yelverton of Rackheath, who did not die till 1503, or she may have been daughter of another William, brother of the above Thomas.—Note by Dr. Jessopp.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Wodehouse was a younger son of John Wodehouse of Kimberley.

xxxvjs. viij*d.*; to Anne Holtofte<sup>3</sup> vjs. viij*d.* A priest to celebrate for two years for my soul and the soul of Christine my wife, &c. Residue to William Grey, my son, and Peter Locke, Master of the College of Thompston, who are executors. Proved xxiii Sept., 1477.<sup>4</sup> 'Nobilis et armigerens.'" [Probably a note of the testator's titles.]—*Harl. MSS.*, fo. 116 b.

## William de Grey.

Box [c].

William de Grey was, so far as is known, the only son of his father, William. He was twice married, first to Mary,<sup>5</sup> daughter of Thomas Bedingfield, Esq., of Oxborough, by whom he had, surviving him, his son and heir Thomas. Mary had three daughters (see the brass in Merton church) and I believe one other son. She died April 5th, 1480. William de Grey married secondly Grace, daughter of Thomas Teye, Esq., of Essex, and widow of Francis Hethe<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Anne Holtofte was no doubt of the family of that Gilbert Holtofte who bought Vernon's manor of the testator.

<sup>4</sup> Thus the will was proved three years after the death.

<sup>5</sup> Margaret, widow of Edmund Bedingfield, the grandmother of Mary de Grey, in her will, dated 24th May, 1474, leaves certain bequests to her granddaughter. "I leave to Mary, the wife of William Grey, Esqr., my cloak trimmed with badger's fur, [penulatum cum Gray] my gown trimmed with miniver, and a silver cup with cover, and my best green coverlet . . . also a Primer with other prayers [suffragiis] contained in the same . . . also certain jewels or reliques necessary for women labouring in child-birth. Also I leave to the same Mary two small brass plates."—*Harl. MSS.* 10.

<sup>6</sup> Christian, sister of William de Grey, married Geo. Bokenham of Snetterton. She died 13th June, 1492, and was buried in Merton nave. Blomefield gives the inscription that was formerly on her stone. Geo. Bokenham married secondly Margaret, daughter and heir of Grace Teye, by her first husband, Francis Hethe of Worlington. On Christian Bokenham's brass was formerly the following inscription, "Orate pro a'i'a Agnetis Heth quonda' filie ffrancisci Heth, Armigeri, que diem clausit extremum, viz., xliiii. Maii, 1494," i.e., Agnes was Christian Bokenham's husband's second wife's sister.

of Worlington, Esq., who had died in 1470. She had two daughters by William de Grey (see the brass in Merton church) and one surviving son, Edmund (see inquis. 21st May, 10th Henry VII., *infra*.) She married thirdly, before 12th Henry VII., Sir Humphrey Catesby, Knt. William de Grey had in all five sons, (see his brass) of whom two, Thomas and Edmund, survived him. (See his inquis. p. m.) He died 12th February, 10th Henry VII. (1495), and was buried in Merton nave. On his mural brass in Merton church there are the figures of himself and his two wives with their ten children, and these shields of arms.

1. de Grey [Cornerd] quartering Baynard.

2. Cornerd and Baynard impaling Bedingfield, Ermine, an eagle displayed gu., quartering Tudenham (through which family the Bedingfields got Oxborough) lozengy arg. and gules.

3. Cornerd and Baynard impaling Teye, Arg., a fess between three martlets and a chevron az.

The following table shows some rather complicated relationships connected with William de Grey.

Mary, da. of Thos. Bedingfield, first wife, died 1480. Her sister Alice was the wife of John Fincham, and was buried at Merton 1474.	=	William de Grey, d. 1495.	=	Grace, da. of Thos. Teye and widow of Francis Hethe.	=	Christian de Grey, buried at Merton 1492.	=	Geo. Bokenham. He mar. secondly Margaret, da. and h. of Grace Hethe, i.e., his brother-in-law's step-daughter.
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William de Grey, I believe, held the manor of Lillington in Warwickshire. Of this manor Dugdale makes mention in his *Warwickshire*, p. 203. "William Grey, Esq., dyed seized, 10 Hen. VII. (1494-5), of a mannour in Lillington." This manor descended in his family till Robert de Grey sold it, 18th May, 24th Elizabeth, to Nicholas Minne. (See *infra*, under Robert de Grey, Recusant.)

William de Grey probably purchased the manor of



Lubenham, Leicestershire, for Hill in his *History of Gartree Hundred*, p. 139, copying from Nichols, says, "Lubenham came into the de Grey family by purchase of William Grey from Thomas Baude in 1500. I suppose the date to be an error. Lubenham descended in the family of de Grey of Merton, and in the special livery after the death of Edmund de Grey, 10th February, 6th Edward VI. (1552), it is mentioned as forming part of the family estates.

8th October, 21st Edward IV. (1481), Henry Splyman and Peter Lok, clericus, convey the manor of Merton to Henry Teye, Arm., and John Boorgeyne, Robert Drury, and William Teye, generosi, (Splyman and Lok had held the manor with William Chamberleyn, Knt., Edward Bokenham de Snetterton, Arm., Thomas Grys de Runhton Holm, by the gift of Thomas Mannyng, son of John Mannyng de Elyngnam Magna, and Jeffrey Cobbys de Sandryngnam) to the use of Grace, formerly wife of Francis Hethe, Esq., to the end of the life of the said Grace, and then to William Grey, Arm., Edmund Bedingfield, Arm., John ffynch'm, sen. de ffynch'm, and John ffynch'm, son and heir of the same John ffynch'm.<sup>7</sup>

There were, according to Dr. Howard's pedigree, three John Finchams of Fincham alive at the same time.

John Fincham, = Beatrix Thoresby.	
ob. 6 Sept., 1496.	
Alice Bedingfield, = John Fincham, ob. = Jane, da. of John	
ob. 22 May, 1474.	30 Apr., 1499.   Teye. 2nd wife.
John Fincham, = Ela Edgar.	
ob. 11 Nov. 1640.	

The third John could only have been a child at the date of this deed, 1481, so that the two trustees would be his father and grandfather.

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<sup>7</sup> The device on the seal of this deed of 21st Edward IV. is obliterated, but around the seal is a specimen of the curious braid of twine which was sometimes sunk in the wax of seals for greater security.

Alice Bedingfield was sister of Mary, first wife of William de Grey. Her marriage settlement is dated 1470-71. (Dr. Howard.) She died as above, and was buried in Merton aisle, and her brass is still existing.

21st May, 10th Henry VII. (1495.) Inquisitio post mortem William Grey as to the Norfolk lands. He died 12th February in the same year (1495.) The inquisition finds that the manors of Merton and of Baynards in Bunwell were holden of John Ratcliff, Lord Fitz Walter;<sup>\*</sup> that Grace, William de Grey's wife, survived; that Thomas de Grey, his eldest son, was fifteen years old; that Edmund was his younger son. [Thus it appears that the three other sons figured on the brass in Merton church died before their father, and that Blomefield is in error in saying that Fulk de Grey of Carbrooke, who died 1560, was a son of this William. For an account of the family of de Grey of Carbrooke see next page.]

The deed of 8th October, 21st Edward IV. (1481) is recited, in which Henry Tey, Esq., and others, were to hold Merton manor for Grace, and therewith to fulfil William Grey's last will.

Of the manor of Haddeston, otherwise Bainard in Haddeston . . . John Finch [Fyncham] and others were seized . . . for William and Grace, and after their death for Thomas Grey, son of William, with remainder to Edmund Grey, son of William and Grace, ultimate remainder to the heirs of Thomas de Grey and Isabella [Baynard.]

20th April, 11th Henry VII. (1496.) Inquisition as to William de Grey's Suffolk lands, held at Blyburghe before Richard Cavendysshe, arm., escheator, and on the oath of Edward Jermyn, arm.; John Loveday, gentelman; Thomas Grymston, gentelman; Nicholas Sydney, gentelman; Thomas Eyr, Gentilman; Hamon Claxston, Robert Watson, Walter Paysshmer, Richard Bedon, Thomas Gelyott, John Payn de Reydon, Thomas Veyseye, William Beneit, Hugh John, and John Toteweye, who say that Willm. Grey was seised of the manor of Claxton [Caxtons.]

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<sup>\*</sup> For Fitz Walter see *infra*, under Sir William de Grey, *note*.

## DE GREY OF CARBROOKE.

The de Greys of Carbrooke, a village about four miles from Merton, resided there for at least three generations, as appears by the parish registers, which the vicar courteously allowed me to examine.

These de Greys were, no doubt, a branch of the Merton family, for they bore the same arms, as Blomefield testifies, who saw them on Fulk's tombstone. This tombstone was buried or destroyed during the so-called restoration of the church, about thirty years ago; when also the fine screen, with its series of saints painted by fifteenth-century artists, was scrubbed clean and covered with snuff-brown varnish!

The Carbrooke de Greys appear to have dropped the prefix. Carbrooke register begins 21st April, 1542.

The first member of the de Grey family who is mentioned is Fulk's wife Elizabeth:—1555, Elis<sup>th</sup> Gray, weif of ffulke Gray, gent., was buried the viii daie of Novr. 1558, ffulke Gray, gent., was buried the x<sup>th</sup> day of Ja.. Blomefield says that Fulk's wife was Elizabeth Drury, and that she and her husband were buried in the same grave. A Fulk Gray was lord of Illington Hall manor before 1556 [Blomefield.]

## ANTHONY DE GREY, SON OF FULK.

Blomefield also says that Anthony was son and heir of Fulk, but I did not see this stated in the register book.

1593. Anthony Grey, Gent., was buried the xxij Decr.

1606. Alice Grey, gent., was buryed y<sup>e</sup> 17 day of Janv. [In a pedigree at Merton, Alice is called daughter of John Ball of Scottow.]

I found in the register the baptisms of eight of the children of Anthony [and Alice], and the death of one, as follows:—

1564. Mary Grey, d<sup>r</sup> of Anthony Grey, gent., was bapt<sup>d</sup> the viij daie of Januarye, anno ut supra.

1568. Anthony Grey, sonne of Anthony Grey, was bap. the xxiiij<sup>th</sup> daie of Julye, anno ut supra.

1570. George Gray, sonne of Anthony Grey, was bap. the thirtie daie of Januarye, anno ut supra.

1576. Jane Gray, daughter of Anthony Greye, was bap. the xix<sup>th</sup> daie of Auguste, anno ut supra.

1578. Martha Gray, daughter of Anthony Gray, was bap. the second daie of Julye, anno ut supra.

1579. ffancis Gray, daughter of Anthony Gray, was bap. the xvij daie of October, anno ut supra.

1580. Anne Grey, daughter of Anthony Grey, was bap. the second daie of Marche, anno ut supra.

1582. Thomas Grey, sonne of Anthony Grey, was bap. the firste daie of November, anno ut supra.

1570. George Gray, sonne of Anthony Grey, gent., was buried the xiiij<sup>th</sup> daie of february.

Blomefield says that Anthony de Grey of Carbrooke [son of Anthony] was living in 1616, and had one brother, Thomas, and nine sisters. If so, four of the sisters must have been baptised elsewhere, unless I overlooked them in searching the register.

#### THE RECUSANCY OF ANTHONY GREY.

In 26th Elizabeth (1584) Anthony Grey of Marten, gens., was returned 23 April at the sessions at Norwich as a recusant.—*East Anglian*, ii. 159.)

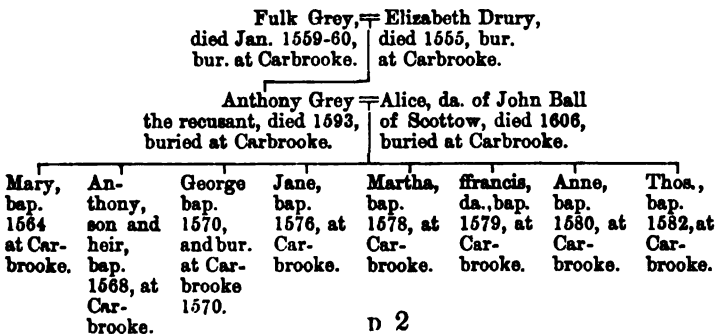
In 1596, in the certificat of Popishe Recusants, their estate, degree, valew in lyvelehood, special place of abaoode, wch of them be howsholders, who vagrante or flugityves . . . &c., there is this entry:—Kerbrooke. Alice Graye, the wyffe of Anthony Graye, gent., whose lyvinge is worth xxvj*li*. xiijs. iiij*d*. by yeare. Anthony Graye, gent., his sonne, hath no lyvinge but his maintenaunce of his father.—*East Anglian*, ii. 159.

In 1598, 12th May, Anthony Grey, gent., is ordered to repair once in every week to Mr. Rawlins of Attleburgh for conference, to repair to church and bring certificates . . . . .—*Court Book of Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical, Consistory, Norwich*. Extracted by Dr. Jessopp.

28th July, 1598, Anthony Grey appears, who being asked whether he would go to church or no, said that he was not yet resolved to do so; then it was resolved and decreed by her Majesty's Commissioners that he should be committed until he were resolved and content to go to the church. Afterwards, by special favour, *relaxarunt eum*, and he was ordered to repair . . . every fortnight to Mr. Rawlins of Attleburgh.—*Court Book of ye Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical, Consistory, Norwich*. Extracted by Dr. Jessopp.

So that Anthony Grey, who was returned as living somewhere in Merton, and being a recusant in 1584, and had not yet made up his mind in 1598 whether he would conform or not, must have been as staunch a Catholic as his kinsman Robert de Grey of Merton, or as stubborn a recusant, as the authorities would have styled him.

#### PEDIGREE OF GREY OF CARBROOKE.



## Thomas de Grey the Priest.

Box [c].

He was eldest son and heir of William, and probably Mary Bedingfield, the first wife, was his mother, for in the above quoted inquisitio p. m., 21st May, 10th Henry VII., Thomas is called the son of William, without mention of the mother: "qd Thomas Grey, filius eius est eius heres, pinquior et est etat xv annos et amplis"; but Edmund, William's other living son, is called the son of William and Grace, the second wife. It is therefore a fair inference that Thomas was the son of the first wife, Mary Bedingfield.

But, in addition to this, we find in the inquisition of his father William, taken at Watton, 12th June, 17th Henry VII. (1502), that Thomas was born at Oxborough, co. Norfolk, the Bedingfield seat, on 20th April, 1481, and that Lady Margaret Bedingfield was his godmother.

Thomas de Grey married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Fitz-Lewes, Knt., of Thorndon, Essex. She died 1515, and was buried in Merton aisle, and it is recorded on her husband's brass there, that after her decease "he made hymselfe Preast, and so lived xli yeres, and dep'ted out of this Lyfe y<sup>e</sup> fyrst of Septembre 1556." *Arms*: Cornerd *impaling* Fitz Lewes, Arg. a chevron between three trefoils slipt sa.

Blomefield states that Thomas de Grey did not inherit his father's estate, and that he had no children. Both these statements are, I believe, incorrect. His wife died twenty years after his father, so that grief for her death would not have prevented him from enjoying the estate, but we have presumptive evidence that he held his Merton manor for seventeen years after her death, and then resigned it, for it was in that year 1532 that Edmund, his son and heir, held his first court for that manor [Part I., page 567]; and

Thomas de Grey certainly continued to hold his courts for his manor of Caxtons in Cornerd up to his death, his last court being held 2nd and 3rd Philip and Mary [Part I., page 562.]

As to Blomefield's other statement that Thomas de Grey had no children, it is certain that he had a son and heir Edmund (see note, p. 38), a son William mentioned in the manor court of Merton, 31st Henry VIII. (1539—40) [Part I., p. 573], and a daughter Mary mentioned in her nephew Robert de Grey's marriage settlement, dated 26th August, 16th Elizabeth, in which it is stipulated for "Marie Grey, Aunte of y<sup>e</sup> sayd Robert (besides fourtie shillings a year) for her life time for her and her mayd s'vante good and sufficient meat drinke and lodginge for and during y<sup>e</sup> naturall life of y<sup>e</sup> sayd Marie to be hadd w<sup>th</sup>in y<sup>e</sup> now Mansion howse of y<sup>e</sup> sayd Robert at M'ton Hall . . . according to y<sup>e</sup> . . . trewe meaninge of y<sup>e</sup> last will and Testament of one Thomas de Greye Priest ffather of y<sup>e</sup> sayd Marie."

I think Thomas de Grey had one other son and one other daughter, viz., Robert and Elizabeth, but I have no proof of this.

Thomas de Grey died at the age of seventy-six.

Octaves of St. Hilary [Jan. 20th] 33rd Henry VIII. (1542). Fine—before John Baldwyn, William Shelly, Thomas Willughby, and Christopher Jenny, justices; between Thomas Grey, clerk, and Edmund Grey [his son and heir], querentes, and Robert Potter and Margaret his wife, deforciantes, . . . land in Carbroke, Caston, Rokelond, and Gyrston. Price, 55 silver marcs.

22nd June, 19th Henry VII. (1504), Thomas de Grey, son and heir of William de Grey, to Humfrey Catesby, Knt., and Grace his wife [stepmother of Thomas], conveyance of lands and tenements in Merton, to Humphrey and Grace, for the life of the latter, and in full satisfaction of her dower.

## Edmund de Grey.

Box [c].

He was eldest son and heir of Thomas (the Priest.) He probably lived at Merton after he got possession of the manor in 1531 or 1532,<sup>9</sup> twenty-four years before the death of his father. He is called Edmund Grey of Marton, Esquier (deed 24th August, 33rd Henry VIII., 1541.) He married—probably in 1531—Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Spelman of Narborough. (See his brass in Merton chancel.) Blomefield says that she brought Chervilles manor in Beechamwell to the de Greys. By a reference to the Manning Pedigree (Part I., p. 588) it will be seen that Chervilles was the property of Elizabeth de Grey's half-uncle Thomas Spelman, who left two sons. It seems therefore probable that Blomefield is in error, and that Chervilles came to the de Greys by purchase, and Edmund de Grey was a land buyer, and lived at a time when he could gratify his taste at small cost, for King Henry VIII. had just become master of the possessions of the Church, and granted many of them on easy terms to his favourites. In Thompson, the next village to Merton, there was a college of five priests, founded in 1350 by the Shardelowe family; and at the Dissolution, the King granted the possessions of this college to Sir Edward Knevet of Buckenham (see p. 18, *note*.)

Edmund de Grey bought a large tract of land that lay contiguous to his manor of Merton, in the parishes of Watton, Griston, Thompson, Tottington, and Merton, for the small sum, even at that time, of £120. For the Griston portion of this land see *infra*, p. 41.

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<sup>9</sup> Marton Hall, curia prima Edm'ndi Grey, gen'osi, filii et heredis Thome Grey, clerici, filii Willi . . . . anno regni regis Henrici Octavi vicesimo tertio.

There are three deeds at Merton relating to this purchase:—

24th August, 33rd Henry VIII. (1541), deed of bargain and sale.

31st August, 33rd Henry VIII., deed of conveyance. [In this deed, the lands are said to be p'cell of the possessions of Tompson College.]

33rd Henry VIII. Fine.

#### WAYLAND WOOD.<sup>1</sup>

In the first of these deeds, "Waylond Wood, otherwyasse called y<sup>e</sup> collegge wood," is mentioned as included in the lands. This, however, cannot be the wood of seventy acres, now called Wayland Wood, but only a portion of it, for in the second of the above deeds, the schedule describes Waylond Wood as containing ten acres of land.

Edmund de Grey died twelve years before his father, leaving three sons, Thomas, Robert, and Edmund; and three daughters. Of these, Robert succeeded to the estate on the death of his nephew. Mary married Edward Kemp of Gissing, Jane married Anthony Talbot, and Elinor married Fabian Caston. Edmund lived at Baynard's manor in Bunwell, though he was not lord of the manor (see *Norfolk Archæology*, vol. ix., p. 309.) He married Mary Jernigan [the Jernigans held Thorpe's manor in Bunwell], and had five children, viz., John, who died 20th August, 1st Edward VI.; Elizabeth, who married Edward Marsham of Melton, Norfolk; Anne, who married George Peirson of London, grocer; Eleanor, who married John Alden; and Margaret. Edmund was fifty-nine years old in 36th Elizabeth (Record Office, Excheq. Department, Hilary, 36th Elizabeth, No. 7.) Perhaps it was Edmund of Baynards who had a child buried at Saham Toney, in 1552: "Martha Gray filia M<sup>ri</sup> Edmundi Gray obiit et sepulta est vicesimo tercio die Junii eodem anno."

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<sup>1</sup> Wayland Wood is known, by tradition, as the scene of the murder of the "Babes in the Wood." All that is known about it will be found at p. 327, of vol. ix., of *Norfolk Archæology*.



10th February, 6th Edward VI. (1552.) Special livery after the death of Edmund de Grey, who died 23rd August, 1st Edward VI. (1548), to Thomas Grey the sonne and heire, who, at the death of his father, was seventeen years old.

The brass in Merton chancel says that Edmund "deceased this present life y<sup>e</sup> 20 dayes of Auguste 1548." The arms on the brass are: de Grey [Cornerd] *impaling* Spelman, sable besantée between two flanches argent.

27th March, 1557. Will of John Grey of Methwolde, Esq. I John Graye of Methwolde Esquyer, . . . . . body to be buried in the Church of Methwold in the myddys (?) of the aisle . . . . . To the high altar of church of Methw. for my tithes offer<sup>e</sup> and other dues negligently forgotten *vis. viii<sup>d</sup>.* . . . . To the repair of the church of hingham *vis. viii<sup>d</sup>.* . . . . Every priest that shall say mass at my buriall *vi<sup>d</sup>.* . . . . Priest that shall say dirge *iiij<sup>d</sup>.* . . . . Every clerk and every childe that helpeth in ye quyer *id.* . . . . Every householde within the town of Methwold shall have at my burial day *4<sup>d</sup>.*, at my 7<sup>th</sup> day *iiij<sup>d</sup>.*, & at my 30 day *iiij<sup>d</sup>.* . . . . I will that my ex<sup>or</sup> shall cause to be dealt the day of my buriall to the most poorest householders w<sup>in</sup> every of three Townes hereafter ensuing . . . . pounds of money, *i.e.*, in Feltwell *6s. 8<sup>d</sup>.* in Hockwold & Wilton *6s. 8<sup>d</sup>.* in Weeting *6s. 8<sup>d</sup>.* in Cranwys *6/8* in Griston *6/8* in Crimplesham *6/8* whereof to the p<sup>ishes</sup> [priests?] and clerkes there *2s. & iiij<sup>d</sup>.*, & *8<sup>d</sup>.* to be given in alms to the poor . . . . All such kinsfolk & friendes as shall please to come to my funeral shall have a good dinner made them by mine ex<sup>or</sup> . . . . I give to the prisoners in Norwich Castle *20<sup>d</sup>.* To my son Will<sup>m</sup> Graye my bason & ewer of sylver p<sup>cell</sup> gilte . . . . v silver spoons . . . . v gilte salte . . . . a pair of chalys . . . . my nevyne Thos. Derhm and my son in law Francis Mundford<sup>a</sup> . . . . To son Thomas Graye . . wife Gertrude sole ex<sup>tr</sup> . . . . Manor of Griston to Will<sup>m</sup> and his heirs & in default to son Thomas. Margaret my daughter £10 . . . . Will<sup>m</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> The Mundefords had a house in Methwold from the time of Henry VII., which house still exists near the church, with their arms let into the gable.—  
Note by Rev. J. D. Gedge, Methwold, 6th September, 1882.

Graye of Thompson<sup>3</sup> witness, Nevy Derham & sonne in law Mundeforde, supervisors.

John Grey, the testator, was of that branch of the de Grey family which held, for several generations, the manor of Griston, the next village to Merton. The arms are the same, differenced by tincture. The Merton family bore, at this time, the arms of Cornard, Azure a fess between two chevrons or; and Grey of Griston bore, Azure a fess between two chevrons ermine.—See *Visitation of Harsey, Clarencieux*, 1567.

Griston Hall, known by tradition as the house of the cruel uncle of "the Babes in the Wood," is situated about half a mile south of Wayland Wood, the supposed scene of the murder (page 39, *supra*.)

The manor of Griston Hall, according to Blomefield, had been held successively by the de Gristons, Cliftons, and Knevetts.

In 1543, Edmund Knevetts had Thompson College and its lands granted to him by Henry VIII., and in the same year he sold a portion of these lands, described as being in Thomeston, Griston, Marton, &c., to Edmund de Grey of Merton. Blomefield states that Edmund de Grey had previously, *i.e.*, in 1541, purchased Griston Hall manor of Edmund Knevetts.

In the pedigree of 1567, the first Grey of Griston is William. It is probable that he was the brother of Edmund of Merton, and it is so stated in an old MS. Pedigree at Merton Hall; but he may have been the uncle.

John Grey of Methwold, in the above will, left Griston to William Grey his son, who, as Blomefield states, sold it. It was repurchased by Thomas, fifth Lord Walsingham.

<sup>3</sup> There were three children of a Mr. William Grey baptized at Thompson. It is almost certain that he was of the Merton family, as the title Mr. was only given in the sixteenth century to Esquires and Gentlemen. He may be the William, son of Thomas the priest, who is mentioned at pages 37 and 42.

#### THOMPSON REGISTER.

Edmund Grey the sonne of Will'm Grey was baptized the xxij of October, 1545.

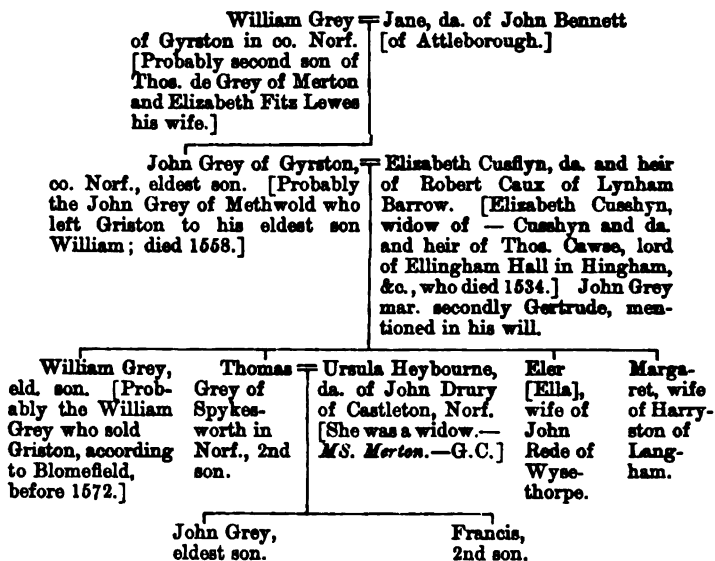
Gertrude Grey the daught' of Will'm Grey was baptized the xvj of March 1547.

Gabriell Grey the daught' of Mr. Will'm Grey was baptized the xxv<sup>th</sup> of Sept' 1551.

Edmund was a family name of the de Greys of Merton, but Gertrude and Gabrielle were not so.

In 1543, William Grey, gent., was, in goods, the most substantial inhabitant of Thompson.—*Lay Subsidy*, that date, Public Record Office.

The pedigree of Grey of Gryston is as follows, according to the *Visitacion* of 1567 :—



The inquisition of the above John Grey, who died in 1558, was taken at King's Lynn, 18th September, 1st Elizabeth (1559.)

Said John Grey died seized in his demeasne, as of fee in manors of Gryston Hall, i.e., in Gryston, Caston, Tompston, and fourth part of manor of Upton, with appurt's in Little Cressingham; also held lands in Kimberley and Carbrooke.

Mention of Gertrude, wife of said John, as "still living."

Mention of Thomas Grey, gent., a younger son; and William Grey, gent., son and heir of said John.

Gryston Hall held of the Honor of Clare.

Carbrooke, held of Richard Southwell, as of his manor of Carbrooke. (Part I., p. 613.)

Said John died 23rd May, 1558.

William Grey, gent., son and heir, aged twenty-four years at the time of the death of said John his father.—*Escheators' Inq. Account of James Bigott*, m. 14.

The inquisition of Elizabeth, wife of John Grey, Esq., da. and heir of Thomas Cawse, late of Hyngham, Esq., dec., was taken 28th Henry VIII.

Long before the death of Elizabeth, one John Emyson was seized . . . in manors of Elyngham Hall, Mutford Hall, Hardingham, Southberg, Reymerston, Skulton, Elyngham Parva, Caraneworth, &c., to the use of

said Elizabeth and her heirs, and being so seized, said John Emyson, in consideration of a marriage theretofore had between John Grey and said Elizabeth, granted said manors to John Grey and Elizabeth his wife and the heirs of the body of said Elizabeth.

Said Elizabeth died 15th April, 25th Henry VIII. (1534), and said John Grey survived.

Francis Cusahyn is son and next heir of said Elizabeth, aged fifteen years and upwards.—*Esch. Inq. Account of Thomas Woodhouse*, m. 13.

## Thomas de Grey.

Box [c].

Thomas de Grey, son and heir of Edmund, was seventeen years nine weeks and one day old on the 7th April, 2nd Edward VI. (1548), and in the guardianship of the king. He came of age 2nd February, 6th Edward VI. (1552), and on the 3rd February he asked for admission to his own property, which was granted him. He had the manor of Baynard's in Bunwell, lands in Thompson, Griston, Watton, Tottington, and Merton; lands and tenements in Lubenham, Leicestershire; and lands and tenements in Lillington, Warwickshire.<sup>4</sup> He held his first court for the manor of Merton, 1st and 2nd Phil. and Mary (1524-5), *i.e.*, seven years after his father's death, and while his grandfather (the priest) was still alive, though within a year of his death.

Thomas de Grey's first wife was Anne, daughter of Henry Everard, Esq., of Linstead<sup>5</sup> in Suffolk. By her he had his only son and heir Thomas, and one daughter, who became the second wife of Robert Kemp of Gissing, Esq. Thomas de Grey's second wife was Temperance, daughter of Sir

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<sup>4</sup> Special livery after death of Edmund de Grey, dated 10th February, 6th Edward VI. (1552.)

<sup>5</sup> See his brass in Merton aisle, which also mentions his second wife.

Wymonde Carewe of Anthony<sup>6</sup> in Cornwall. He married her before the 10th September, 5th and 6th Phil. and Mary (1559.) (See deed recited in inquis. p. m. of Thomas de Grey, stepson of Temperance, dated 28th May, 9th Elizabeth (1567.) She had Baynard's manor in Bunwell and Bury Hall in Ellingham, in dower; and by the last will of her husband she had also two parts of the residue of the lands for fourteen years, i.e., till the heir should come of age. She married, secondly, a year after her husband's death, Sir Christopher Heydon of Baconsthorpe, Knt. She died 9th October, 1577.

Roger, the son of Sir Wymonde Carewe (by . . . sister of Sir Anthony Denny) and brother of Temperance, married the daughter of . . . Askewe. He held lands in Norfolk, and amongst them the manor of Rockells, Watton [see *supra*, Part I., p. 625.] His will was proved 20th March, 1590, by Henry Carew, gent.

He is called of Bricklinsea, co. Essex, "sick and weeke in bodye . . . whereas the late ladie Temperaunce Heidon did leave in my hands £20 to be delivered to Temperaunce Davis my niece at her marriage (the said Temperance Davis is still unmarried and a minor) . . . my three children Anthony, Mathew, and Joyce (a daughter) all under 21 . . . Margaret Carew my wife . . . my lands in Norfolk and Essex to wife for life . . . remainder to children and their heirs, in succession . . . rem' to nephew Roger Carew . . .

"My cousin Humfrey Donatt, Esq., and my cousin Henry Carew, Esq., Exors . . .

"My brother Doctor Carew, Esq., overseer."—Copied by Rev. F. C. Casa.

Thomas de Grey died 12th May, 1562,<sup>7</sup> at Fetter Lane, London.

Thomas de Grey bought the advowson of Merton, which his ancestors, the Baynards, had given to Lewes Priory [see

<sup>6</sup> A Sir Wymonde Carye, who was knighted in 1604, farmed of Elizabeth and afterwards bought the manor of Snettisham, Norfolk.—*Blomefield*.

<sup>7</sup> . . . duodecimo die Maij anno regni d'ce d'ne Regine nunc quarto p'dous Thomas de Grey, pater, apud fewter lane p'pe London . . . obiit . . . Inquisition taken at Watton, 2nd January, 23rd Elizabeth (1580.)

Part I, p. 580], and also the manor of Warners [see *infra*, p. 46] of the Duke of Norfolk.

Thomas de Grey was buried in Merton aisle, under a slab which has the figure of a man in armour, with clasped hands, and an inscription (see Blomefield.) The arms were, de Grey [Cornerd] *impaling* Everard, Gules, on a fess argent, between three estoiles or, as many mullets sable, and the same *impaling* Carewe, Or, three lions passant in pale sable, armed and langued gules. This latter shield is still in its place.

12th October, 13th Elizabeth (1571.) Inspeximus of the writ of inquisition, taken 18th July, 4th Elizabeth (1562), at Norwich, after the death of Thomas de Grey, who died 12th May, 4th Elizabeth (1562), son and heir of Edmund de Grey and grandson of Thomas de Grey, Priest. His second wife, as above stated, was Temperance Carewe. Her settlement is recited, in which Baynard's manor in Bunwell and the advowson of Bunwell and Bury Hall in Ellingham, were given her in dower. The trustees are George Dayels of Cheshunt and Matthew Carewe,<sup>8</sup> clerk, Archdeacon of Norfolk. The will of Thomas de Grey is also recited, "My grandfather Thomas de Grey clerk . . . To sister Jane Talbot<sup>9</sup> 40*sh.* a year.

7th March, 34th Elizabeth (1592.) Inspeximus of a fine, by which the manor of Warner's, with 20 messuages, 20 tofts, 1000 acres of land, 40 acres of meadow, 1000 acres of pasture [common], 20 acres of wood, 1000 acres of heath, and 5 librates, with appurtenances in Watton, Thompson, and Parva Ellingham, and a faldcourse in Watton, and the rectory of Watton, and tithe

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<sup>8</sup> Matthew Carewe was but twenty-one years old on March 10th, 1551, when he was made Archdeacon. In 1565 he was Doctor of Laws and Rector of Shencock, in Exeter Diocese; and travelled with Henry, Earl of Arundel. In the Metropolitan Visitation in 1569 he was returned among those in orders.—*Blomefield*.

<sup>9</sup> Jane, wife of Anthony Talbot. She is called "Mrs. Jane Tawlboote widowe," in Robert de Grey's Marriage Settlement, 1574.

of grain in Merton, Thompson, and Watton; and a pension of 26s. 8d.<sup>10</sup> issuing out of the rectory of Merton, and a pension of 5s. 8d. issuing out of lands in Little Ellingham, and the advowson of Merton and of the vicarage of Watton, passed, in the octaves of St. Michael, 3rd Elizabeth (1561), from the Duke of Norfolk to Thomas de Grey, for £200 sterling.

The Duke of Norfolk, by gift of the king at the Dissolution, got the Rectory of Merton from the Priory of Lewes [see *supra*, Part I., p. 580], and the advowson of Watton from the Abbey of Thetford.—*Blomefield*.

Thomas de Grey must have sold the advowson of Watton, and soon after he bought it.—(See *Blomefield's List of Patrons*.)

As to Warner's manor, there was a William Warner, Esq., who was buried at Thompson in 1467 (see his will, *Harl. MSS.* 10, p. 308.)

Warner's manor in Thompson appears to have been a small one, and was given to and united with the Thompson College manor. The original deed of gift is in the Bodleian Library, and is dated 13th Henry VI. (1434-5). It is probable that the Warner's manor of the inspeimus was another and larger manor, of which nothing is now known.

## Thomas de Grey.

### Box [c].

Thomas de Grey, only son and heir of his father Thomas by his first wife Anne Everard, was seven years four months and seven days old at the time of taking his father's inquisition, 18th July, 4th Elizabeth (1562.) He was a ward of the queen, as were all minors who held estates under the crown by knight's service. He was married before he was eleven years old, no doubt sold by the queen, according to the cruel laws of wardship.<sup>11</sup> This abominable traffic was quite openly engaged in. In 1481 Margaret Paston left in her will 100 marcs to purchase land for her

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<sup>10</sup> This pension is still paid by the Rector of Merton to Lord Walsingham.

<sup>11</sup> Wardship, and the marriage of wards, were the most oppressive of all the feudal incidents. The infant's land was seized and the custody of his

son William, "or ellys to bye a warde to be married to him if any such may be goten." The practice continued in force till the Commonwealth. It was finally abolished by Act of Parliament in the reign of Charles II.

For the account of a lawsuit consequent upon this marriage, see *infra*. Colonel Bulwer tells me that the wife was a daughter of Robert Drury of . . . . ., and niece of Sir Christopher Heydon's first wife Anne, daughter of Sir William Drury of Hawsted, Knt. (*Suffolk Visitation*.)

In a deed at Merton, 18th May (1582), mention is made of Elizabeth, the wife of Nicholas Mynne, Esq., of Little Walsingham, late the wife of Thomas de Grey, nephew to Robert de Grey.

Thomas de Grey died at Baconsthorpe, his stepmother's residence, 21st March, 8th Elizabeth, (1566), being eleven years and seven days old. His uncle Robert was his heir.

23rd May, 1566. Thomas Grey, f. et h. of Thomæ Grey de Marten, Arm., died intestate on the 19th May. Administration granted to Elizabeth the relict.—Note by Dr. Jessopp.

28th May, 9th Elizabeth (1567.) Inquisitio p. m. of Thomas de Grey (son and heir of Thomas) who died at Baconsthorpe, 21st March, 8th Elizabeth (1566), aged eleven years; his uncle Robert de Grey being his heir. Temperance de Grey's settlement recited, and also part of the will of Thomas de Grey, husband of Temperance.

2nd January, 23rd Elizabeth (1581.) Second inquisition after the death of Thomas de Grey, who died 21st March, 8th Elizabeth.

person. The right of marriage, at first probably confined to a veto upon the marriage of a female ward, lest an unsuitable or hostile tenant might be foisted on the lord against his will, assumed very early the character of a valuable property. If the infant refused to accept a suitable person when tendered by the lord, he or she forfeited "the value of the marriage," that is to say the price which could be obtained in the open market for such an alliance.—*Edinburgh Review*, No. 323, p. 135.



## Robert de Grey, the Recusant.

Box [d].

As I have printed all that I know about Robert de Grey in vol. ix. of *Norfolk Archaeology*, it is sufficient to say here that he was a staunch adherent of the Roman Catholic party; and that neither enormous fines, nor continued imprisonment, had power to make him conform to the State religion. There is reason to believe that in the intervals of his freedom from prison he resided at Merton Hall, and that he began its rebuilding not long before he died.

Robert de Grey succeeded to the family estates in 1566, on the death of his nephew Thomas. He held his first court for Merton manor 10th Elizabeth, (1568.) He married in 1574 Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Lovell.<sup>1</sup> His only son was born in 1583. Robert de Grey died in 1601, after twenty-three years of persecution, leaving his son a minor. He and his wife were buried in Merton chancel;<sup>2</sup> but the position of the graves is unknown. On the south wall, a Jacobean mural monument was placed to his memory by his son.

11th July, 9th Elizabeth (1567.) Agreement between Sir Christopher Heydon and Temperance his wife and Robert de Grey

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Lovell, gent., was buried May, 1643.—Merton Register. He was, probably, brother-in law or nephew of Robert de Grey the recusant.

<sup>2</sup> Anne Gray, y<sup>e</sup> wife of Mr. Robert Gray, Esquier, was buried the xvth of May, 1600.—Merton Register. In the sixteenth century the double title was often given, e.g., "To the Wo<sup>r</sup> my very loving ffrend Mr. Will. Darrell, esqer, geve thys at lytlecox."—Letter of Sir John Popham, 1582; and see an instance p. 54, *infra*. Mr. E. A. Freeman, speaking of our modern use of the title Esquier after a name without the Mr. before it, says "the use of Esquire alone is altogether without parallel among continental titles or descriptions."—Article on Titles in *Longman's Magazine*, No. 12.

"Robert de Graye Esquier was buried the vij<sup>th</sup> of Marche, 1600 [1601]." [Merton Register.]

(the recusant), about Temperance's claim on Merton, by reason of her first marriage with Robert's elder brother. John Drurye, gent., was at this time firmarius of the manor of Merton, by appointment of Sir Christopher and Temperance.

This deed is dated the year after the death of Thomas de Grey, who was son and heir of Thomas, elder brother of Robert, and stepson of Temperance Heydon—she having been the second wife of Thomas de Grey before she married Sir Christopher Heydon.

26th August, 16th Elizabeth (1574.) Marriage settlement of Robert de Grey and Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Lovell of Harling. An epitome of this interesting document is given at pp. 293—5 of vol. ix. of *Norfolk Archaeology*.

18th May, 24th Elizabeth (1582.) Forced sale of the manor of Lillington, Warwickshire.

The manor of Lillington had been in the de Grey family for several generations, for in this deed it is said to be "late Thomas Grey's, brother of the said Robert; and before that Edmund Grey's, father of the said Robert, and sumtyme Thomas Grey's, grandfather of the said Robert. It had also belonged to the father of the last named Thomas." See *supra*, pp. 31, 43.

The deed is endorsed with the words, "The sayle of the manor of Lillington in Warwyckshire to Nicholas Mynn, being forced to it by the unconscionably (*sic*) certyficat of the byschoppe."—[For Nicholas Mynne, see p. 47.]

Freake was Bishop of Norwich in 1582. Eleven years before, i.e. in 1571, there was a great trial, as Dr. Jessopp informs me, between Nicholas Mynne, Arm., and Elizabeth his wife, plaintiffs; and Robert de Grey of Merton, Arm., defendant; Mynne and his wife suing for lands in dower in Merton, &c., which Elizabeth claimed as late wife of Thomas Grey, deceased. Robert de Grey, the defendant, pleaded nullity of marriage.

Dr. Jessopp says that "Parkhurst [who was, in 1571, Bishop of Norwich] had great pressure put on him by the Heydons, to give a verdict in their favour, whereby a jointure out of the Merton estate should be given to Elizabeth Mynne, who, it will be remembered, was a niece of Lady Heydon. Bishop Parkhurst manfully resisted. It was an infamous attempt, but I suspect that something like a compromise was come to." Perhaps this forced sale of the manor of Lillington was part of the compromise, though it may have been caused by the recusancy of Robert de Grey.

It seems that the patronage of the vicarage of Lillington did not pass with  
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the manor, and did not, like the manor, descend in the eldest son, for Dugdale, p. 203, says that "24th July, 1554, Robert Grey et Agnes Grey vidua" presented; and 8th April, 1594, Laur. Grey, gen., presented. I cannot identify Robert, Agnes, or Laurence.

4th January, 36th Elizabeth (1594.) Extracts from depositions in the Public Record Office, taken at Wymondham, by order of the Government. Robert de Grey was supposed to be in collusion with Francis Woodhouse against the Government, which claimed, according to the Act of Parliament 29th Elizabeth, section 4, two-thirds of the profits of the lands and tenements of Robert de Grey, on account of his recusancy.

Circa 1605—1610. Document concerning Robert de Grey's treatment, as a recusant, by Thomas Felton.

31st March, 43rd Elizabeth (1601.) Inquisitio p. m. of Robert de Grey, taken at Norwich. Part of his will is recited.

#### PEDIGREE DEDUCIBLE.

Robert de Grey.	Edmund de Grey.= Mary.
William de Grey, son and next heir, aged at the taking of the Inquisition 16 years 9 months and 11 days.	

The following also are mentioned :—

1. Thomas de Grey, son of William de Grey of Caxtons. [A William Grey succeeded to the manor of Caxtons in Little Cornard in 1556, on the death of Thomas de Grey of Merton, priest.—See Part I., p. 560. He held the manor till at least 1568. Thomas de Grey, mentioned in this Inquisition of 1601, was no doubt his son; but Thomas did not succeed to the Caxtons, which reverted to the Merton de Greys before 1583.—Part I., p. 560. It was to this Thomas of Cornard, that Robert de Grey left, in his will, his manors of Bury Hall and Caxtons, in case of the death of his son William.—See *Norfolk Archaeology*, ix., 317.]
2. Uncle Parryssa. [Robert de Grey's wife's mother, the Lady Lovell, was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Philip Paris, of Linton, Camba.—*Blomefield*.]
3. Cousin Phillipp his sonne.

#### THE GAWDY FOLIO.

This is the place in which to notice a valuable MS., that may conveniently be called the Gawdy folio. It was

discovered among some old books at Merton in 1881. It is a thick folio, bound in vellum, and is divided into two parts. It contains 487 copies of letters, orders, and despatches, relating, some of them, to private affairs; others, the greater portion, to county business, dated from the 30th to the 45th Elizabeth. It was written for, or by, Sir Bassingbourne Gawdy of West Harling, Knt., three times High Sheriff for the county of Norfolk, and may have come to Merton through the marriage, about 1660, of a descendant of Sir Bassingbourne with Anne, daughter of Sir Robert de Grey.

The subjects of a few of the letters are as follows:—

Part I., No. 43. From the Bishop of Norwich to myself (Sir Bassingbourne) on behalf of Robert Orwell to be my servant.

No. 74. From the Lord Chief Justice (Popham) to myself and Edm. Knyvett, Esq., to search at Mr. Woodhouse's of Breckles, for Jesuits and Seminaries.

No. 76. From the Bishop of Norwich, to search the same house for Recusants.

Part II., No. 15. From the Lord Chief Justice, concerning Edward Downes and Edward Waldegrave, Esqrs., killing a deer in Wynfarthing Park.

No. 33. Concerning the staying of passengers which go beyond the seas without license.

No. 278. From one of the ladies of the court, concerning Black Will.

No. 358. From the Lady Scudamore, concerning the ward lands of Ralph Shelton, Esq.

No. 359. To Sir Robert Cecil, in the behalf of Dr. Dove for the Bishoprick of Norwich. Signed by Myles Corbet, Bassingbourne Gaudy, Arthur Heveningham, Philip Woodhouse, Nathaniel Bacon, Charles Cornwaleys, Henry Gaudy.

## Sir William de Grey.

Box [e].

Sir William was only son<sup>3</sup> and heir (only child, I believe) of Robert de Grey the recusant. He was born June 19th, 1583. He was seventeen years and eight months old when his father died. He seems fully to have accepted the Protestantism which his father so firmly opposed. In a MS. book at Merton (Box [e]), full of correspondence on county business during the reign of James I. (a sequel to the Gawdy volume), Sir William appears as the leading man in the Wayland hundred. He was Captain of a foot company, Deputy Lieutenant, and Justice of the Peace, in which latter capacity, in 1614, he had orders to search the houses of recusants, and to take from them all furniture of war. Sir William finished building Merton Hall in 1613, and in 1620 he built the gatehouse or porter's lodge, in the then fashionable Jacobæan style (see *Norfolk Archaeology*, ix. 313. Sir William was a very good man of business: he kept his accounts most accurately, and must have felt the need of doing so, for he had seventeen children, of whom ten lived to marry. Seven of them had children baptized at Merton. Probably, according to the custom of that day, the married daughters had a home with their father for a year after marriage (for an instance of this see Part I., p. 598.)

Sir William married Anne, daughter of Sir James Calthorpe of Cockthorpe.<sup>4</sup> The marriage took place at Merton.

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<sup>3</sup> "Ex quorum nato unico et hærede Gulielmo de Grey milite."—Monument in Merton chancel.

<sup>4</sup> Anne's brother, Philip Calthorpe (see note, p. 65), of Gressenhall, had a daughter baptized at Merton:—

"Barbarye the daughter of Mr. Phillipp Calthropp gent. was baptized the first of Maye 1617." [This Barbara afterwards married Thomas Daye of Scoulton, Esq.]

"Willelm Graye esquier and Ann Calthorpe gent.<sup>5</sup> wer maryed the vij of October 1601" (Merton Register), *i.e.*, seven months after his father's death, and when he was only eighteen years and four months old. Though he was married at Merton, I do not think he resided there,—probably on account of the rebuilding of Merton Hall, for his children's baptisms there do not begin to be recorded in the Merton Register till 1617, in which year he was evidently in residence in his new house. In 1615 he may have resided at Thompson, as a child of his was there baptized in that year. At any rate, he was at Merton from 1617 till his death.

1611—12. Sir William le Grey gave £20 towards the loan to King James I. (Mason's *Norfolk*, i. 241).

On 23rd July, 1603, Sir William Grey, with many other gentlemen, in all three hundred, was knighted at Whitehall. Hitherto<sup>6</sup> knighthood had been considered a special mark of royal favour; but on the 17th July, 1603, a summons was issued for all persons that had £40 a year in land, either to come and be knighted or to compound with the king's commissioners.—*Ib.* 233.

Sir William died in 1632,<sup>7</sup> his wife surviving him thirty years.<sup>8</sup> For his will see p. 63.

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<sup>5</sup> An instance of the use of the word "gent." applied to a female. "It is commonly so applied in our old writers, expressing the softer qualities of the female sex."—Richardson. Here it only means *generosa*, *i.e.*, of gentle birth.

<sup>6</sup> This no doubt is, in the main, true; but, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, John Carpenter, the founder of the City of London School and M.P., is said to have been, as a special mark of favour, exempted from being called upon to take the title of knight; and, "in 1463, the Esquire was beginning to tread upon the heels of the Knight . . . and some would rather fine to the king than receive a dignity grown common."—Knight's *England*, ii. 103.

<sup>7</sup> Sir William de Grey knyght was buryed the xxth day of October 1632. Tho. futter, Churchwarden.—*Merton Register*.

<sup>8</sup> The worthy Lady Anne de Grey, widow, fformely espoused to Sr William de Grey knight deceased, was buryed June xix<sup>th</sup> 1662.—*Ib.*

## THE SEVENTEEN CHILDREN OF SIR WILLIAM DE GREY.

(1) ELIZABETH, buried at Merton, 1618.<sup>o</sup>

(2) BARBARA, became, 12th January, 1611,<sup>1</sup> wife of Thomas Guybon of Thursford, Esq. As Sir William was married in October, 1601, and Barbara was the second daughter, she must have been under fifteen when she married. Thomas Guybon was son and heir of William Guybon, of an old Lynn family, he was knighted 1631, High Sheriff of Norfolk 1641, ob. 1666, æt. 66, buried at Thursford (*Norfolk Visitation*, i. 182.) Sir Thomas and Barbara probably lived at Merton for some years after their marriage. They had four children baptized there, viz., two sons and two daughters.<sup>2</sup>

Barbara, the eldest child, appears to have been a favourite with her grandfather Sir William de Grey, for in his will there is a clause, "Unto my pretty witty<sup>3</sup> grandchild and goddaughter Barbara Guybon a silver tankard of £5 price, with my arms upon it, and underneath ingraven (Remember the giver.)" When the will was made Barbara was only three years old.

The third son of Thomas and Barbara Guybon was afterwards Sir Francis, of Thursford.

Barbara, Lady Guybon, was living in 1666, when she held her

## EXTRACTS FROM MERTON REGISTER.

<sup>o</sup> Elizabethe the daughter of Sr. Will'm de Greye knight was buried the vij<sup>th</sup> of December 1618.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Thomas Gibbon Esquier and Mrs Barbarye de Greye singlewoman was maryed the xij<sup>th</sup> of January 1617.

<sup>2</sup> Barbary the daughter of Thomas Gybbon Esquier was baptised the xxvij<sup>th</sup> of May 1626.

Anne the daughter of Thomas Gybbon Esquier was baptised the xvij<sup>th</sup> of August 1627.

William the sonne of Thomas Gybbon Esquier was baptised the xvij of August 1629.

Thomas ye sonne of Thomas Gybbon Esquier was baptised upon the xvij<sup>th</sup> day of february 1630.

<sup>3</sup> Witty. This word had the meaning of *clever* in the seventeenth century, as in Proverbs viii. 12, "witty inventions." Like *cunning* and *crafty*, *witty* has become degenerated.—Aldis Wright's *Bible Words*, p. 669.

first court for the manor of Islington, which had been her husband's.—*Norfolk Visitation*, i. 182.

(3) ROBERT, died 1606, aged 6 months (monument at Merton.)

(4). SIR ROBERT, son and heir (see p. 68.)

(5) WILLIAM, baptized at Thompson, 1613,<sup>4</sup> buried<sup>5</sup> at Merton 1616.

(6) PENELOPE, baptized at Merton, 1617,<sup>6</sup> married in 1639,<sup>7</sup> at Merton, Sir Christopher Athowe of Beechamwell, Knt., had two children baptized at Merton, Anne in 1639,<sup>8</sup> Barbara in 1643.<sup>9</sup>

(7) JAMES, heir to his brother (see p. 73.)

(8) EDMUND (see p. 77.)

(9) PHILIP, baptized at Merton, 1621,<sup>1</sup> buried there 1628.<sup>2</sup>

(10) ELIZABETH, baptized at Merton, 1619,<sup>3</sup> buried there, 1621.<sup>4</sup>

(11) CATHERINE, baptized at Merton, 1622,<sup>5</sup> buried there, 1631.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> William de Grey the sonne of Sir William de Grey Knt. and the Lady Anne his wife was baptised the 7<sup>th</sup> day of August 1615.—*Thompson Reg.*

EXTRACTS FROM MERTON REGISTER.

<sup>5</sup> Will'm the sonne of S<sup>r</sup> Will'm de Grey Knight buried y<sup>e</sup> x<sup>th</sup> of Sept<sup>r</sup>'b' 1616.

<sup>6</sup> Penelepee y<sup>e</sup> daughter of S<sup>r</sup> Will'm de Greye Knight was baptized the xxiii September 1617.

<sup>7</sup> Christopher Atta, Armiger, and Penelope de Grey daughter of S<sup>r</sup> Will'm de Grey Knight were marryed 26 of April 1639.

<sup>8</sup> Anne the daughter of Christopher Attos Esquyer and Penelope his wyfe was baptised uppon the 13 day of Januarye 1639 [1640.]

<sup>9</sup> Barbara the daughter of Christopher Athowe K<sup>t</sup> and of Penelope his wife was baptized April 13<sup>th</sup> 1643.

<sup>1</sup> Phillip the sonne of S<sup>r</sup> William de Grey Knight was baptized the vij of Maye 1621.

<sup>2</sup> Phillip the sonne of S<sup>r</sup> William de Grey Knight was buryed the xxi<sup>th</sup> of June 1628.

<sup>3</sup> Elizabethe y<sup>e</sup> daughter of S<sup>r</sup> Will'm de Grey Knight bapt. y<sup>e</sup> xix<sup>th</sup> of June 1619.

<sup>4</sup> Elizabethe the daughter of S<sup>r</sup> Will'm de Grey Knight was buried the tenth of August 1621.

<sup>5</sup> Katheryne y<sup>e</sup> daughter of S<sup>r</sup> William de Grey Knight was baptised the xxiij<sup>th</sup> day of October 1622.

<sup>6</sup> Katherine the daughter of S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> de Grey Knight was buryed xxi<sup>th</sup> daye of March 1631.



(12) ANNE, married at Merton in 1623,<sup>7</sup> Cotton Gascoigne, Esq., of Illington, and had that manor settled upon her in jointure. Cotton Gascoigne's father and grandfather had held the same manor (Blomfield.) Anne married secondly, at Merton in 1633,<sup>8</sup> John Palgrave of Norwood Barningham, Esq., afterwards Sir John Palgrave, Knt. and Bart., who was lord and patron of Illington during her life.

The will of Dame Ann Palgrave (Box [ff]) is dated 15th September, 1673, and was proved 2nd September, 1678. Her body to the church of Barningham, near that of her husband. (She was buried in St. Peter's Hungate church at Norwich in 1676). Edmund de Grey, her brother, and Lady Guybon, her sister, executors. £10 to daughter Anne [Gascoigne]; residue to daughter Ursula [Palgrave]. Brother Edmund de Grey and sister Lady Guybon, executors.

(13) JANE, baptized at Merton, 1624,<sup>9</sup> married Thomas, second son of Francis Bacon, Esq., of Hessel, one of the Judges of the King's Bench. Her marriage settlement (Box [ff]) is dated 26th August, 1686. Thomas Bacon settles on her his "messuage wherein he nowe dwelleth situate in the Parrish of St. Gregory's in the City of Norwich"; and farms in East Braddenham and Scarning. Jane Bacon was buried in St. Gregory's church in 1698.

(14) ELLEN, married at Merton, 1630,<sup>1</sup> Talmach Castle, Esq., of Raveningham. She had one child, Mary, baptized in 1631 at Merton,<sup>2</sup> and buried there in 1631.<sup>3</sup> She was buried at Raveningham in 1648.

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EXTRACTS FROM MERTON REGISTER.

<sup>7</sup> Cotton Gaskin gene' and Anne Gray gener' were married the vi<sup>th</sup> of Maye 1623.

<sup>8</sup> John Palgrave Esquier and Anne Gascoyne vidua were married upon the xi<sup>th</sup> day of December 1634.

<sup>9</sup> Jane the daughter of Sr William de Grey Knight was baptised the xx<sup>th</sup> of October 1624.

<sup>1</sup> Tholmach Castle Esquier and Helen de Grey daughter of Sr William de Grey Knight were married upon the xvij<sup>th</sup> day of June 1630.

<sup>2</sup> Mary y<sup>e</sup> daughter of Tolmach Castle Esquier was baptised y<sup>e</sup> xxv<sup>th</sup> of August 1631.

<sup>3</sup> Mary the daughter of Tolmach Castle Esquier was buryed upon the xxv<sup>th</sup> day of October 1631.

(15) DOROTHY, married at Merton in 1633,<sup>4</sup> James Reinold or Reynolds, Esq. She had one child (a son) baptized at Merton in 1633.<sup>5</sup>

(16) MARY, married at Merton in 1633,<sup>6</sup> to Edward Bullock of Fulkbourne, Esq. She had three children baptized at Merton; Edward in 1634,<sup>7</sup> Robert in 1635,<sup>8</sup> William in 1637.<sup>9</sup> She was buried in St. Peter's Hungate church at Norwich in 1644. Her daughter Mary became the second wife of Hamon L'Estrange of Pakenham. See *note* to Sir Wm. de Grey's receipt books, *infra*.

(17) WILLIAM, baptized at Merton in 1626.<sup>1</sup> A Major in the Army (*Playfair*, ii. 226.) In a deed 10th June, 1656 (Box [ff]) he is called "of the cittie of Norwich, gent." In a deed 26th of August, 1686, he is called "of Merton." William de Grey had an annuity of £23. 6s. 8d. left him by his father. (Mentioned in deed 22nd May, 9th Car., Box [f].)

21st July, 2nd James I. (1604). Deed of discharge to Sir William de Grey, by which he was released from all fines laid upon his father.

This deed recites the fines due by Robert de Grey of Marten, Esquier, recusant, deceased, amounting to the large sum of \$1780, representing at least \$17,000 of our money; and upon the humble petition of Sir William de Grey, Knt., "sonne and heire of the sayd Robert, he, Sir Will'm, is discharged these fines laid upon his father." Bitterly, however, does

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#### EXTRACTS FROM MERTON REGISTER.

<sup>4</sup> James Rannols Esquier and Dorothe de Grey daughter of S<sup>r</sup> William de Grey Knight were married upon the xxvij<sup>th</sup> day of July 1632.

<sup>5</sup> James y<sup>e</sup> sonne of James Reynolds Esquier was baptised y<sup>e</sup> v<sup>th</sup> day of Maye 1633.

<sup>6</sup> Edward Bullock Esquire and Mary y<sup>e</sup> daughter of Anne de Grey [widow] were married the xliij<sup>th</sup> of June Anno D'ni 1633.

<sup>7</sup> Edward the sonne of Edward Bullock Esquier was borne the xxiiij<sup>th</sup> of June baptised the 3 of July 1634.

<sup>8</sup> Robert y<sup>e</sup> sonne of Edward Bullock Esquier et Mariæ uxoris eius natus quinto die mensis August, baptisatus nono die eiusdem mensis 1635.

<sup>9</sup> William y<sup>e</sup> sonne of Edward Bullock Esquier and Mary uxoris eius natus erat 27 die martii, baptisatus 29 die Ap. 1637.

<sup>1</sup> William the sonne of S<sup>r</sup> Will'm de Grey Knight was baptised the xxiij<sup>th</sup> of Julye 1626.

he complain of the treatment he has received, for the deed is endorsed by him as follows :—

" But I p'test befoor God through the uniust dealinge of Sr Jhon Popham<sup>2</sup> then Lord Cheif Justice of England whoe hated my father even after his death for noe cawse butt only for his recusancy and for his sake see p'secuted mee that he made a debit weer none was, contrary to all former p'sidentes in the like cases and granted to one Curtis the assigne [assignee] of felton<sup>3</sup> my mannor of Oxtones in little Corneard in Suffolke and my mannor of Burry hal in great Ellingham in Norff. worth thirteen score pound a year att a cxxvj<sup>4</sup> yearly rent to Qu. Eliz. and theer by gayned seaven score pound a year besides the Qu. rent for fower yeares and a halfe, and befoore I could get this discharge it cost mee sixe hundred pounde att the least my suit, wh. had almost quit undone mee beinge under age all the tyme of this suit, being forced to borrowe moneye at x<sup>11</sup> in the hundred wh. weakned my estate all my lyfe after wh. I . . . iustly say was most rigorous dealinge, consideringe that diuers weer discharged in the lyk cases and I made the first p'sident against the verry letter of the law and against the construction of the law by a statute in 2 Jacobi afterwards made : and that this is trew I subscribe my hand to it this 23 of June 1609.

By mee William de Greya.

24th November, 4th James (1606.) Sir William de Grey obtained special livery after the death of Robert his father: he had come of age six months before the above date. This indenture states that in order that the king may take no damage, Sir William has delivered a schedule of his manors, &c., and if he has omitted any, he covenants to pay two years' value of such omitted part to the king. The schedule includes the manors of Marton, Bechamwell, Cackstones, Banyards, and Buryhall; and lands in Thompson, Griston, Watton, Tottington (all so spelt.)

Sir William was a minor for three years two months and twenty days, and was a ward of the queen.<sup>4</sup> We are told

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<sup>2</sup> Sir John Popham, made Chief Justice of the King's Bench 1592.

<sup>3</sup> For an account of Thomas Felton see *Norfolk Archaeology*, ix. 320.

<sup>4</sup> "When a landed proprietor died, if his domains descended to an infant, the sovereign was guardian, and was not only entitled to great part of the rents during the minority, but could require the ward, under heavy penalties, to marry any person of suitable rank . . . These abuses perished with the monarchy . . . and were solemnly abolished by statute.—*Macaulay's History*, i. 153.

that during the minority "the queen enjoyed most of his lands." See *Norfolk Archaeology*, ix. 302.

The following is a letter written by a landlord to his tenants to ask their votes, two hundred and sixty-two years ago. This was in preparation for one of the most important Parliaments that England has seen. James I., seven years before, had dissolved his second parliament, almost as soon as it met, because it would not vote supplies as he desired; and now, after seven years' interval, his third parliament was summoned. We can well believe that all who wished to put a stop to the king's arbitrary proceedings, and all, on the other hand, who wished to uphold the monarchy, would be anxious to send to this important parliament a representative who held their own views. As nothing is said of the king in this letter, we may perhaps conclude that Sir William de Grey bent rather towards the country party than towards the king.

A copy of my letter w<sup>th</sup> I writt to my Tenants and ffrindes to give their voyces for my cozen Drury at the tyme of the Eleccion of the K<sup>te</sup> of the Shire.

Anno d'm 1620. My good ffrindes and Tennants, I have heertofore desired you that you would respect me soe much as to stay p'mising of yo' voyces to any concerning the eleccion of the K<sup>te</sup> of the shire. And for that my Cozen Drury<sup>\*</sup> of Riddlesworth doth entend to stand for the same (a gentle man of that worth and knowne sufficiency in the Countrey and every way soe fitting the place, as there can be noe iust exception against him) a good scholler, a good orator, and w<sup>th</sup> is most to be respected, a noble and gen'ous intendment to doe his Countrey good, all w<sup>th</sup> hopefull eventes I commend to yo' good considerations, and doe request you all that at the eleccion (the certaine tyme whereof is not yet knowne) you will w<sup>th</sup> me give yo' voyces for him, And I dare assure you yt shall not repent you to have done the same, desiring you not to faile to be at Norwich betymes in the morneing upon

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\* Sir Drue Drury of Riddlesworth succeeded his father in 1617, married, 1608, Anne, daughter and heir of Edward Waldgrave of Lawford; created Baronet 1627, died 1632.—Blomefield, under *Riddlesworth*.

the day of the said elecon and see not doubting of yo' kind  
p'formance I salute you all and rest

Merton this second  
of December 1620

yo' loving frind  
William de Grey.

1624 and 1630. Receipts and outgoings of Sir William de Grey's estates of Merton, Bunwell, Cornard, Ellingham, and Beechamwell, written by himself and signed.

Some of the entries are as follows, 1624 :—

*PAYMENTS.—Bunwell.*

Rentes, Resolutes. Imprimis for hundred silver xvij*d*.

*Cornard.*

Receipts of John Wood Brickstryker *xxli*.

Rentes, resolutes. Imprimis to the kinge for my mannor houlden of his honor of Clare by one knight's fee *vjs. viij*d**. (The Honor of Clare came to the Crown in Richard III.'s reign, and continued in the Crown till about 1650.)

*Merton.*

Rentes, resolutes. Itim to my lord of Sussex, now Sir Will<sup>m</sup> Luckyn, for my mannor of Merton, and other mannors houlden of mee by knightes service which I hould over of him as of his mannor of Hempnall by a whole Knightes fee, and every 48 weeks *xxs*h**. (For the superior lords of the manor of Merton, see *note*, p. 63.)

*Ellingham, 1630.*

Itim to S<sup>r</sup> Phelipp Knevitt to his mannor of Buckingham Lathes for half an acre of land bond (freed to me and my heires by S<sup>r</sup> Phelipp Knevitt, the first Baronett, from fyne, wast, and all suit and service) w<sup>h</sup> otherwyse I still hould by y<sup>r</sup> copy of Cort Roll, because I would not inthrall my mannor by any Knightes service tenure, w<sup>h</sup> half acre lyeth in portway close, rent *1*d*. ob.* (Sir Philip Knevett sold his Old Buckenham property in 1649.—See Blomefield, under *Old Buckenham*.)

Item to the Earl of Sussex, nowe fallen to S<sup>r</sup> Alexander Rattcliffe for free lands in Hulverfeild in Attleboroughe.—(For the Ratcliffes see p. 63, *note*.)

## RECEIPTS.

*Merton and Thompson.*

Off<sup>e</sup> ould Jhon Barkar for 22 acres and  $\frac{1}{2}$  acre of errable [the old spelling of arable, of which a remembrance remains in the "*earing* and harvest" of our Bible] and greenhowse close, conteyninge 8 acres . . . as it is sett forth by evidence (althoughe I think in measure it bee not aboue sixe) w<sup>h</sup> he hath hitherto (in respect he was my nurse's husband) payed butt a load of hay p' annum and in money iiij*li*. x*sh*.

Off Wynter for my warrin, 300 conies and 100 rabbitts, the conies' at 40*s*. the hundred and the rabbyttes att 30*s*. the hundred, vij*li*. x*s*.

Off Sir Phelip Knevitt, by covenant<sup>e</sup> for my landes in Thompson, p'chased of S<sup>r</sup> Edmond Knevitt xvij*s*. iij*d*. For these lands see pages 18 *note*, 41.

ffor my rentes of Assysse w<sup>h</sup> 3 quarters of pepper and two hennes valewed att 2*s*. 6*d*. besides one q'ter of pepper y<sup>t</sup> is detained, w<sup>h</sup> land for w<sup>h</sup> the pepper should be payd is eiether in Mr. Henry Barnyes [Berney] land or one Dunthornes, lyinge in Gerson [Griston.]

*Merton and Thompson in my owne hand.*

Itim my two fould corse of Merton and Thompson conteyninge 1200 sheap (noote y<sup>t</sup> merton is nott stented to any number, Thompson beinge only 400 and noe moor) all valewed w<sup>h</sup>out stocke att 6*li*. the hundred, lxxij*li*.

Itim in pasture my hoome groundes w<sup>in</sup> the pales (besides the great water nott valewed) forty acres . . . .

\* Sir William de Grey uses the preposition *off* for *of*, just as our village people now use it, *e.g.*, "I borrowed it off my neighbour."

<sup>1</sup> Conies were rabbits from a warren, rabbits were those which were wild.

<sup>2</sup> The covenant mentioned is probably that stated in the deed of bargain and sale 24th August, 33rd Henry VIII., page 39. Edmund de Grey, who bought the Thompson lands, and his heirs, could claim upon any of the Knevitt manors in New Buckenham, if he, Edmund de Grey, or his heirs, had to make any payment to the king for the Thompson lands.

Somme total of my poor estate besides Harriottus (Heriots)\* and amercimentes<sup>1</sup> of my manor of Baynyard, w<sup>h</sup> I pray God to blesse and co'tinue to my posteritye is p' annum declaro (clear) £904. 7s. 9d. [This would probably represent as much as £7,000 to £10,000 a year in our money.]

1630. *Beecham well.*

off Robert Hawis (w<sup>h</sup> 40s<sup>h</sup>. there in given hym as appeareth by his leases) towards the educacion of Thomas Hawes his eldest sonne, whos was fforster brother to my daughter Dorotheie y<sup>t</sup> his wife nursed p. ann. 82<sup>li</sup>.

14th January, 22nd James I. (1626). Inspeximus. Gives extracts from two books in the custody of the Remembrancer of the Exchequer.

The first book is described as containing an account of an aid, granted to Edward III. in the 20th year of his reign (the year of Crecy) from each knight's fee, on the knighting of Edward's eldest son [This *aid pur fair fite chevalier* was abolished by Act 12, Car. II.]

The second book is described as containing an account of a subsidy granted 6th Henry VI.

In the first book, Thomas Grey [he must have been Sir Thomas de Grey, the first of Merton, who had married Elizabeth Baynard] held portions of knights' fees of John Fitz Walter,<sup>2</sup> in Merton.

In the second book Fulk Grey<sup>3</sup> held the manor of Bunwell,

\* In some manors the best animal which the copyholders possessed passed, at the tenant's death, to the lord.—*A. S. Heregeat*.

<sup>1</sup> Blackstone and Spelman say "to be *amerced*, or *a mercie*, is to be at the king's mercy with regard to the fine imposed. An amercement differs from a fine proper, in that the latter is fixed by statute.—Aldis Wright's *Bible-word Book*, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> John Fitz Walter ob. 1361.—Carthew's *Launditch*, i., 105. The de Greys always held their Merton manor and Baynard's manor in Bunwell of the Fitz Walters, as of Baynard Castle in London, the head of the barony, for that castle was forfeited (temp. Henry I.) by William Baynard, and was given to . . . Fitz Walter.—Blomefield, under *Bunwell*.

<sup>3</sup> I cannot say with certainty who this Fulk Grey was. Perhaps he was brother of William de Grey of Merton, who married Christian Manning, and son of Fulk de Grey of Merton by his wife Eleanor Barnardston.

formerly Fulk Baynard's, of Walter Fitz Walter,<sup>4</sup> by the service of one knight's fee; and William Grey<sup>5</sup> held in Wayland three quarters of a knight's fee, formerly Fulk Baynard's.

12th May, 1629. Will of Sir William de Grey. Proved before Thomas Crosse, rector of Merton, surrogate, 27th October, 1632. Body to be buried in the chancel of Merton Church . . . where I will the som'e of ffortye markes [£26. 10s. 4d., worth at least £200 of our money] shalbe bestowed within three yeares after my decease of some monument<sup>6</sup> like unto that my brother Cotton<sup>7</sup> made for his father at Starston, for a remembrance that my selfe

<sup>4</sup> The Baynards, upon losing their barony of Baynard's Castle in London for rebellion against Henry I., had it given from them to the ancestor of the Fitz Walters. Thus the Fitz Walters became chief lords of Merton and Bunwell manors. This Walter Fitz Walter, must have been, I think, great grandson of John Fitz Walter mentioned above. If so, he died 1432, leaving Elizabeth his daughter and heiress, who married Sir John Ratcliff.—Carthew's *Launditch*, i., 106. The Ratcliffe family thus took the place of the Fitz Walters, as superior lords of the de Greys. In the Inquis. p. m. of William de Grey, (dated 21st May, 10th Henry VIII., 1495) son and heir of William and Christian Manning his wife, it was found that he held Merton and Baynards in Bunwell of John Ratcliffe, Lorde Fitz Walter. Ratcliffe was in his wife's right called Lord Fitz Walter, and was killed at Ferrybridge in 1460 (*Paston Letters*, notes, p. 79). The de Greys continued to hold their manors of Merton and Bunwell of the Ratcliffes, Earls of Sussex (as of their manor of Hempnall,) and afterwards of the Lukyns, who bought the Hempnall manor of the Ratcliffs.—See Blomefield, under *Hempnall*.

<sup>5</sup> This William Grey must have been, I think, the William de Grey of Merton, Esq., who married Christian Manning. He died 1474.

This Inspeciurus appears to have been made, at the instance of Sir William de Grey, (called in one place le Grey) to ascertain the tenures by knights' service, in other words the payments due to the king, on Sir William's Norfolk manors in the 22nd James I. (1624-5).

Knights' tenures were finally abolished by Act of Parliament, 12th Car. II. (1660). They had been discontinued during the Commonwealth.

<sup>6</sup> This monument was not placed in Merton Church.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas Cotton of Starston married Eleanor Calthorpe, sister of Sir William's wife Anne. The name of Thomas Cotton's father was Bartholomew. He died in 1613.



and wiffe were there interred,<sup>8</sup> and a gilt sworde and spuires to be affyxed to the sayd monument . . . . 3 pence a piece to every poore bodye that will take it at my ffuneral, and to the towne of Merton . . . . 5 pounds . . . . to remayne in the sayd towne, the yearly proffytt of wh' sayd ffive pounds my will and meaning is shall yearly and only be employed upon the ornamentinge of the Church and Chappell within, too much neglected in these carelesse tymes . . . .

Feoffees, Henry Calthorpe, Esq. (brother of Sir William's wife, Anne Calthorpe; see *note*, pp. 67, 71); Thomas Guybon, Esq. (Sir William's son-in-law; see p. 54); Hamond Warde, gent., of Letheringsett<sup>9</sup> my trusty and well beloved brothers in lawe and sonne in lawe.

Fortunes to his sons and daughters. To James my 2nd son the sum of £400 . . . . wishing that he would industriously study and honestly practice the common laws of the land, as the best means to Rayse a poore younger Brother's fortunes. . . . unto Dame Anne de Grey my deare and lovinge wiffe my p'cell gilt Basen and Ewer and my two gilt Cuppes with Covers, the bedd and bedstead . . . . with the purple silke cwilt now being and standyng in the chamber called the Pantrye Chamber; . . . the hangyngs of Tapestry in my frett worke lodginge Chamber . . . at my house at great Ellingham<sup>1</sup> . . . ten of my best cowes . . . and £50 for furnishing of herself of other fittinge household stuffe, desiring her to believe that if my abilities had been greater, pressed with the waighte of over many children which if I had disposed somewhat unto, would have been more heavy upon her, my affection should not have been wanting to the better increase of her ffortunes . . . . to my very lovinge mother-in-law the Lady Calthorpe<sup>2</sup> a deathea

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<sup>8</sup> The grave was no doubt destroyed when the vault was made about 1781; William, the first Lord Walsingham, being the first buried in it.

<sup>9</sup> Hamond Warde married Mary, sister of Anne Calthorpe. He died 20th March, 1650.—*Blomefield*.

<sup>1</sup> Buryhall, see Part I., p. 587.

<sup>2</sup> Barbara, daughter of John Bacon of Hessett, Esq. She died 3rd November, 1639, aged 86, and was buried at Cockthorpe.—*Norfolk Archaeology*, ix. 154.

head Ringe of Gould of 40s<sup>h</sup>. price as a poore remembrance of the true affection her deceased son-in-law bare her . . . . desiring her to wear it as a token of my affectionate love unto her, wishing my abilities had been correspondent to my desires and then it should have been much better . . . . Item I give my honored ffriend and kinsman Sir Henry Bedingfield of Oxborough Knt.<sup>2</sup> my Crucifyxe of Gould wh. was left me by my deare mother as a pore remembrance of the ffaythful love I bore him, and also my old gould I have by me to be delivered him p'sently after my decease being not above 30 pounds . . . . . to be payd by him to some kindred of myne that I have acquainted him withal . . . . . to my eldest son all my bookes . . . . . hoping and desiring him to imploye them to that intent they are given him, both for practise of pietye and historye . . . . . and the silver bason and ewer which the kinde affection and love of my worthye ffriend and kinsman S<sup>r</sup> Henrye Kervill,<sup>3</sup> Knt. upon his decease bestowed upon me to remayn with the house, whose will and myne in the same I desire my sayd sonne sh<sup>d</sup> p'form, assuring him that if my estate coulede have borne it (pressed with the weight of his brothers and sisters) w'h I have with manye carefull houres laboured as much as might be to disburthen him of, I would have beene more liberall unto him, and I hope he will have the grace to remember God's blessinge towards me and my indeavors towards him in leaving of him not only the Inheritance left me, but divers p'cells of p'chases, lands, and houses builded, 4000 pounds better than I founde it . . . [Plate and rings to relations and friends . . . . wife sole ex<sup>tra</sup> . . . . Philip Calthorpe<sup>4</sup> supervisor.]

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<sup>2</sup> Sir Henry Bedingfield died 1657. He was father of Sir Henry, first Baronet. The relationship was a very distant one. Sir William de Grey's great-grandfather's mother and Sir Henry's great-grandfather's grandfather were sister and brother. The word "cousin" in the seventeenth century had a very wide meaning.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Sir Henry Kerville of Wiggenshall, Knt., who died 1624. He was distantly connected with the de Greys through the Bedingfields and Spelmans.

<sup>4</sup> Philip Calthorpe of Gressenhall, brother-in-law of Sir William de Grey. He died before 25th June, 1661.

## SIR WILLIAM DE GREY'S FOLIO.

## Box [e].

There is a small MS. folio at Merton, containing copies of one hundred and forty three letters, orders, subsidies, &c., in the time of Sir William de Grey and that of Sir Robert and James his sons, from 1606 to 1663. These letters and documents are chiefly on the business of the county, especially on the mustering and payment of Norfolk soldiers. It may be called a continuation of the Gawdy folio (see p. 50.)

There are several interesting letters of a private nature, *e.g.* :—

1619. Letter from Mr. Canham, parson of Watton, unto myself (William de Grey) in the behalf of one *Morleige* (?) of the same town, who had unjustly scandalized me, who upon his confession and submission, I freely remitted him.

Letter from one Sir Anthony Drury to desire me (William de Grey) to retain in memory some skandalous speeches wh. were spoken unto me concerning him and his father.

Among the documents relating to the county are the following :—

“ The names and values of all such p'sons w'hin the hundreds of Waylond, Grimshoe, Shropham, and Gultcross, and Southgreenhoe as were charged to the . . . subsidies . . . taken at Watton . . . 1641 by Rob<sup>t</sup> de Grey [eldest son and successor to Sir William] Jno. Spelman, Rob<sup>t</sup> Wilton, Tho. Wright, and Jho. Reeve, Esq<sup>r</sup>. comission<sup>r</sup>, &c.” [42 pages.]

The same in the year 1624. Commissioners, Sir Henry Bedingfield, Sir William de Grey, Sir Anthony Drury, and Sir Thos. Holland, Knights, and Drue Drury, Esq. [21 pages.]

*Waylond.*

1623. A certificate made and deliued to the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> S<sup>r</sup> William de Grey K<sup>t</sup>. one of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Justices of the peace . . . upon our search made of what stores of corne wee find . . . over and aboue the rate and p'porcon allowed . . . according to the warrant, &c.

[Some parishioners in Tottington, Merton, and Watton appear

to have kept back the largest supplies. Sir William de Grey, as became a Justice of the Peace, is reported to have no more than the allowed quantity.]

The document concludes as follows :—

Wee doe certifie that notw'hstanding we find an overplus . . . in divers men's hands within this hundred yet wee doe verily beleeeve that there is little enough to serue the poore people . . . who have not any corne at all ; and for our hopes of the cropp of corne of the next year wee find the fieldes very bare and corne very thynn, and much of the best ground quite drowned, but wee thinke a seasonable spring will much amend yt.

26th July, 1662. Copy of probate of the will of Dame Ann de Grey :—

"I Dame Ann de Grey the widdowe of S<sup>r</sup> Will<sup>m</sup> de Grey . . . body to be buried at Merton as near my deare husband and sonne S<sup>r</sup> Robert as may be . . . 20*sh.* to the poor of Merton, G<sup>t</sup> Ellingham, and Beechamwell each . . . to son Edmund lands in Leverington parson drove . . . legacies to children and grand-children . . . to my beloved daughter-in-law the Lady de Grey, S<sup>r</sup> Robert de Grey's widdow, my inammelled ring that my deare brother S<sup>r</sup> Harrie Calthorpe<sup>a</sup> gave me when he dyed . . . my sonne Edmund (see page 77) sole executor."

4th January, 8th Charles (1633.) Inquisitio post mortem of Sir William de Grey, Knt.

Merton Register, p. 7 :—

Sir William de Grey, Knyght, was buried the xx<sup>th</sup> day of October 1632 [the day after he died, if the deed, Easter Term, 12 Car. (1636) is correct, p. 71.]

Lady de Grey, six years after his death, gave the church of Merton a very massive flagon, which weighs 34 oz. It has the following inscription. "Ex dono Dominæ de Grey Viduæ ad usum villæ de Merton pro celebratione sacramenti, 1638."

Merton Register, p. 34 :—

The worthy Lady Anne de Grey widow, formerly espoused to S<sup>r</sup> William de Grey, Knight, deceased, was buried June xix<sup>th</sup> 1662.

<sup>a</sup> Sir Henry Calthorpe of Ampton, Suffolk, Knt., a younger brother of Christopher of Cockthorpe, see note, page 71, ob. 1st of August, 1637, æt. 50. He was great-grandfather to Sir Henry Calthorpe, K.B., whose sister's son, Sir Henry Gough, Bart., took the name of Calthorpe, and was created Baron Calthorpe, 15th June, 1796.—*Norfolk Archaeology*, ix. 170.

## Sir Robert de Grey.

Box [f].

He was eldest son of Sir William. He, too, was a minor and ward of the Crown seven months. He came of age the 22nd March, 8th Car. (1633.)

Sir Robert married Elizabeth,<sup>6</sup> daughter and coheiress of William Bridon of Ipswich, gentleman, (see inscription on Sir Robert's tomb), and had by her three children :—

WILLIAM,<sup>7</sup> only son, who died an infant in 1636.

BARBARA,<sup>8</sup> the eldest daughter, married Ralph Hawtrey of Rislip, Esq.

30 Sept., 1650. (Box [ff].) Barbara de Grey acknowledges the receipt from her uncle James de Grey of Merton of £1000, being half her portion. Her marriage probably took place soon after this. Barbara, as Le Neve tells us, died at about the age of eighty years. Her husband, Ralph Hawtrey, died 5 Dec., 1725, aged one hundred years; he was deaf for some time,

<sup>6</sup> J. H. Josselyn, Esq., has kindly searched for me the register of St. Nicholas, Ipswich. There is, he says, no entry of Elizabeth's marriage, but there is this entry of her baptism :—

Anno D'ni 1614 (16½), Jan. 15. Elizabeth y<sup>e</sup> daughter of William and Elizabeth Briden was baptized.

There is also the register of the marriage of (probably) Elizabeth, sister and coheiress :—

An'o D'ni 1630, July 27th. Mr. William Barker tooke to wife Mrs. Marie Bridon.

The entry of Mr. Bridon's burial is as follows :—

1616, Dec. 13th. Mr. William Bryden was buried.

Mr. Josselyn informs me that on a flat stone in the middle aisle of St. Nicholas there is this inscription (without arms)—“ . . . of William Bridon, of this towne Marchan . . . . of December A° D'ni 1616.”

<sup>7</sup> William y<sup>e</sup> sonne of Robert de Grey Esquyer et Elizabeth uxoris eius was borne the fourth day of July and baptised y<sup>e</sup> xx<sup>th</sup> day of y<sup>e</sup> same month 1635. Thomas Crosse rector ibidem.—*Merton Register*.

William y<sup>e</sup> sonne of Robert de Grey Esquyer and Elizabeth his wyfe was buried uppon the 22 day of february 1636.—*Id.*

<sup>8</sup> Barbara y<sup>e</sup> daughter of Robert de Grey Esquyer was borne y<sup>e</sup> xiiij<sup>th</sup> day of October and was baptised y<sup>e</sup> xxx of October 1633.—*Id.*

but drank his bottle of wine. He had two sons [Le Neve thought that both died before their father, leaving no children] and three daughters, one married Sir Thos. Frankland of Pinner, Bart., [she was] relict of .... Clithero of London. The second, Anne, was [second] wife of Sir Charles Blois of Cockfield Hall, Yoxford [see page 84]. The third married .. Sittwell of London.—Le Neve's Diary in *Norfolk Archaeology*, ii. 384.

ANNE,<sup>9</sup> Sir Robert's second daughter, married Sir John Gawdy of West Harling, Bart.

Sir Robert enjoyed his estates only twelve years. He was, as Captain Robert de Grey, Esq., one of the sixty knights and gentlemen in Norfolk that sent horsemen and money, in 1639, to aid the royal cause in the north of England and Scotland. The troops marched from Swaffham, the place of rendezvous, under the command of Sir William Drury, Knt. Captain Robert de Grey, Esq., furnished one harquebusseer compleat—the horse ridden by Thomas Asteley, Gent., and £15 paid to Ensigne Heveningham, and £5 to the rider, and 40s. to buy Armes Defensiuæ.—*Tanner MS.*, Bodleian, No. 177, quoted in *Gournay Record*, p. 1020.

Sir Robert de Grey was knighted June 23rd, 1641, and he appears to have been a strong partisan of the royal cause.

In 1642 Sir Robert de Grey published, at the head of his company, a letter expressing disaffection to the Parliament, and which caused a mutiny. He was sent for as a delinquent, and his estate ordered to be sequestrated."—Mason's *Norfolk*, i. 281. Sir Robert died soon after this, and was buried at Merton.<sup>1</sup> His estates passed to his brother James and his heirs male, excluding his own two daughters. The sequestration, of course, came to an end with his death.

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<sup>9</sup> Anne, the daughter of Robert de Grey Esq. et Elizabethæ uxoris eius was baptised upon the seaventh day of August 1637.—*Merton Register*. For her husband see note, p. 88.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Robert De Grey, Knight, was buried Oct. 21, 1644.—*Merton Register*.

Sir Robert's gravestone is within the altar rails. It has a brass shield in the centre, and one at each corner. The centre shield is quartered of four: 1, de Grey, with an annulet; 2, Cornerd; 3, Baynard; 4, Manning, escutcheon of pretence, Bridon, Sa. a bend engr. ar.<sup>2</sup>

Lady de Grey lived nearly fifty years after her husband's death, and was buried in the chancel of St. James' Church, Bury St. Edmund's. The inscription on her tombstone is as follows:<sup>3</sup>—

Under this stone lyeth y<sup>e</sup> Body of Dame Elizabeth de Grey Relict of S<sup>r</sup> Robert de Grey of Merton in Norfolk dyed y<sup>e</sup> 67<sup>th</sup> year of her age, March y<sup>e</sup> 27<sup>th</sup> 1692.

*Arms*: Within a lozenge a fess between two chevronels, for de Grey [Cornerd], impaling three lions' heads erased.

These dates must, necessarily, be incorrect, for they make Elizabeth Bridon to have been born in 1625 instead of 1615 (see page 68.) She certainly married in 1632, and had her first child in 1633 (see *Merton Register*.) The arms also differ from those in Merton chancel (*supra*.) The most probable solution of the difficulty is that Lady de Grey's executors were ignorant both of her age and armorial bearings. There is, however, reason to believe that the arms are incorrectly given in both churches. Burke and Papworth give the arms of Bridon of Bury St. Edmund's: Ar. three hawks' heads erased sable, a bordure engr. az. bezantée.

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<sup>2</sup> There is little doubt that these arms are incorrect. Papworth gives "Sa. a bend engr. ar." as the arms of Braden or Bradden of Rutland, Northumberland, and Northampton.

<sup>3</sup> When the church of St. James was what is called "restored," this, and all the other grave slabs, were buried under a new floor of Minton's tiles. Thus have thousands of historical and family records perished all over England, through the misguided zeal and want of taste and reverence of the clergy and the architects. Surely it was a prophetic spirit which placed on the tomb at Stratford on Avon the well known words—

"Blest be the man that spares these stones"!

Though Lady de Grey was buried at St. James', she lived in St. Mary's parish, and her burial is recorded in the registers of both parishes—

St. James' Register: 1692, March 29th, Lady de Grey.

St. Mary's Register: 169 $\frac{1}{4}$ , March 29, the Lady Eliz. de Gray sepult. S<sup>u</sup> Jacobi.

22 May, 9 Car. (1633.) This is a post-nuptial settlement or security for jointure made by Sir Robert de Grey. The trustees are John Lacey the younger of Ipswich, to whom Elizabeth Bridon was daughter-in-law [step-daughter], and Henry Calthorpe of the Middle Temple, Esqr.<sup>4</sup> Elizabeth's portion is £3000. Caxton's and Baynard's manor and other lands are settled as security for jointure of £300 per annum.

17th Sept., 1633. Special livery granted to Robert de Grey of his manors. He being a ward of the Crown and having come of age 22nd March, 1633, asks, 17th Sept., 1633, to be admitted to his estates, which was granted.

Easter Term, 12th Car. (1636.) Robert de Grey, twenty years old on 22nd March, 7th Car. (1632.) His father Sir William's inquis. post mortem recited. Sir William died 19th Oct., 8th Car. (1632.) Robert, on the 18th Oct., 8th Car., at Thompson [*i.e.*, five months before he came of age] did take to wife one Elizabeth Bridon, [there is no mention of this marriage in the Thompson Register, but neither is there any mention of it in the register of St. Nicholas, Ipswich, (see p. 68)]; and he, being a ward of the king, a fine of £1,500 was set the 31st January, 1632, afterwards reduced to £200. Thus it appears that Robert married the day before his father died, and this may have been done to try to avoid the payment for license to marry, which every ward of the Crown was forced to make.

14th July, 12th Car. (1636.) Robert de Grey of Marton, late

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<sup>4</sup> In the alteration of settlement, dated 11th September same year, he is called of Ampton, Esqr. This is the eminent lawyer, Mr., afterwards Sir Henry Calthorpe, of a younger branch of the Calthorpes of East Barham. He was the first of Ampton, and was uncle to Robert de Grey. He died 1637.



his Ma<sup>tes</sup> ward . . . . In consideration of the sum of £200, our most dread sovereign Lord King Charles is contented . . . to sell unto Robert de Grey the marriage of himselfe, and alsoe by these presentes doth give and grant unto him the effect, benefitt, and value of his own marriage.

12th October, 12th Car., (1636.) Robert de Grey allowed to hold his own lands, paying the sum of £240 a year to the king during his late minority from the 29th\* [19th] October, 8th Car. (1632), on which day Sir William his father died.

8th March, 1642. Bond for £2,000 to perform covenants.

Sir Robert's estates were entailed by Sir William his father on the heirs male, "yet he the said S<sup>r</sup> Robt. hath power to cutt of the same intayle." He covenants that in default of heirs male (his only son had been dead six years) his inheritance should go to his brother James and his heirs. Sir Robert is now mynded to make his will, and to make James his sole executor, and to leave him a good part of his goods and chattels, and personal estate, in consideration whereof James is to pay all the debts Sir Robert may owe at the time of his death, not exceeding £2,000.

8th May, 1645. Probate of will of Sir Robert de Grey. The will is dated 27th February, 1642.

Sir Robert leaves to his wife the bedstead, bedding, &c., in the pantry chamber, with the hangings, chairs, and stools, and sixe paire of shates, and sixe paire of pillow-beeres [pillowcases or ornamental cloths to lay on pillows], &c. . . . to his wife and daughters all his plate, except the bason and ewer which was the legacie of Sir Henry Curvile (see Sir William's will, p. 65), to my late father, which is to be an heirloom . . . he had settled portions on his daughters, his manors and lands to his brother James, in default of heirs male of his own body.

1637—1660. Bundle of deeds relating to seventeen acres of freehold in Saham Toney, and two acres of copyhold (this last held of Sir Richard Barney, Barronett, as of his manor of Saham Tony) . . . Sir Robert de Grey many yeares sithence died thereof

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\* Sir William was buried on the 20th October.

seized . . . his daughters and coheirs Anne and Barbara, now seized in coparcenerie: they sell it to their uncle James de Grey of Merton.

### James de Grey.

Box [ff].

He was second surviving son of Sir William and brother of Sir Robert. He was destined for the bar, being styled "of the Middle Temple," in a deed 8th March, 1642 (see also his father's will, p. 64, *supra*.) He succeeded to the estates in October, 1644, by his brother's death; and, I think, as his name does not appear among the compounders, and as he did not forfeit his estates like his neighbour at Oxborough, Sir Henry Bedingfield, nor suffer sequestration like his elder brother, that he must have espoused, at least outwardly, the Parliamentary cause, though, as we shall see, his younger brother Edmond continued a Royalist. But James seems to have taken the earliest opportunity possible to espouse the cause of the restored king, for he was one of the gentlemen of Norfolk who in 1660 signed the declaration to General Monk, which resulted in the Restoration.—*Norfolk Archaeology*, vii. 312.

James de Grey obtained a licence to eat flesh.

There is this note in the *Merton Register Book*, at p. 36:—"Memorandum that in the beginning of Lent last past there was a liecence granted for eating flesh to James de Grey, Esquire, in respect of his indisposition, infirmity, and want of health, by Samuel Warren, Minister of Merton, according to the statute to that purpose, and another was granted to Mary Warren upon such an accompt. So we testify this xiiij<sup>th</sup> of April 1661 (P)

Samuel Warren

Robert Spenser <

churchwarden, his mark.

The Act of 5th Elizabeth, forbidding flesh on fish days, was stated, §§ 39 and 40, to be for the increase of fishermen and promoting of navigation, and not for the saving of men's souls.—*Burns' Ecclesiastical Law*, ii. 314.

James de Grey had five children :—

ELIZABETH, (see page 76.)

SUSAN, born 1651, at Stowlangtoft.\* After her father's death she appears to have continued, like her sister Anne, to live at Merton with her brother, and at his death, when the house was shut up, I suppose she went to Thorpe Market to the Rants. She died in 1697,<sup>7</sup> and was buried in Merton chancel, "in affection of who<sup>e</sup> memory her brother-in-law S<sup>r</sup> Will. Rant hath, at his own charge, caused this marble to be laid." Cornerd arnis in a lozenge.

WILLIAM, son and heir, (see p. 80).

ANNE, baptized 1653, at Merton,<sup>8</sup> buried in Merton chancel, 1702.<sup>9</sup> She seems to have had her home at Merton, like her sister Susan, till 1687.

BARBARA, baptized and buried at Merton in 1656.<sup>1</sup>

In 1662 James de Grey was one of the Commissioners appointed to receive subscriptions for a present to the king (Charles II.)—*Mason's Norfolk*, i. 332.

24th March, 1646. Marriage settlement of James de Grey.

"In consideration of a marriage intended by God's grace to

\* Baptized 1651. Susan, ye daughter of James de Grey, Esq., and Elizabeth his wife was borne at Stowelangetoft in Suffolke May ye eleventh, and was baptized in y<sup>e</sup> church May 16th. John Stuteville who resided at Stowlangtoft was Susan's uncle.

<sup>7</sup> Mrs. Susan de Grey was buried January 5th, 1697.

<sup>8</sup> Anne, daughter of James de Grey, Esq., and Elizabeth his wife, was born and baptised January 21st, 1653.

<sup>9</sup> Mrs. Anne de Grey was buried February 7th, 1702.

<sup>1</sup> Barbara, daughter of James de Grey, Esq., and Elizabeth his wife, was born and baptized the 22nd of November, 1656.

Barbara, daughter of James de Grey, Esq., and Elizabeth his wife, was buried December the xvijth.

he had .... between James de Grey .... and one Elizabeth Stuteville one of the daughters of Sir Martin Stuteville late of Dalham .... K<sup>nt</sup> deceased, and of Dame Susan Stuteville<sup>2</sup> widdowe .... £2,800 portion. Merton, Buryhall, and Chervilles in Beechamwell settled.

Trustees, Sir Thomas Guybon of Thursford,<sup>3</sup> Justinian Isham,<sup>4</sup> sonne of Sir John Isham of Lamport, Northampton, Knt. and Barronett; John Stuteville of the Middle Temple, Esq. [brother of Elizabeth] William Davy of Griston, Esq.

27th April, 1660. List of the Earles and Lords that were present in the house of Peers on Friday, Apr. 27, 1660.

This was on the occasion of the meeting of the Convention Parliament. In this Parliament the old peers, who had not met during the Commonwealth, again assembled. There was much talk at the time as to whether they would meet or not. Pepys says, 21st April, 1660, "I had a large letter from Mr. Moore, giving me an account of the present dispute at London that is like to be at the beginning of the Parliament, about the House of Lords, who do resolve to sit with the Commons, as not thinking themselves dissolved yet, which, whether it be granted or no, or whether they will sit or no, it will bring a great many inconveniences." Soon after, on 8th May, both houses attended the proclamation of Charles II.

1660. An address from the noblemen and gentlemen of Norfolk, on the accession of King Charles II. (A copy, apparently, of a printed document. The paper is yellow with age.)

In Evelyn's *Diary*, 21st June, 1660, he says, "The Warwickshire gentlemen (as did all the shires and chief townes in all the three Nations) presented their congratulatory addresse."

This address is signed by one hundred and eighty-four noblemen, baronets, knights, esquires, and gentlemen of the county, headed by the Earle of Deamond. James de Grey is the seventh esquire who signs.

James de Grey died in 1665, and was buried at Merton,<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> She was sister of Sir John Isham of Lamport.—See *infra*, and Rye's *Antiquarian Miscellany*, ii. 243.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Thomas Guybon married in 1617, at Merton, Barbara, eldest sister of James de Grey. He died 1666.

<sup>4</sup> Justinian Isham was first cousin of Elizabeth Stuteville (see pedigree, *infra*, nearer end.

<sup>5</sup> James De Grey, Esquire, Departed this life July iij and was buryed July 10th, 1665.—*Merton Register*.

in the chancel. On his gravestone is a shield with these quarterings; 1, de Grey, barry of six, an annulet in chief; 2, Cornerd; 3, Baynard; 4, a bend; 5, Barnardston; 6, Manning, impaling Stuteville of Dalham. The inscription is given by Blomefield.

26th August, 1662. Will of James de Grey.

Body to be buried in Merton church .... wife sole executrix .... mortgage to Lady Wentworth, relict of Sir John Wentworth of Somerleyton, recited: daughter Elizabeth £1500, Susan £1200, Anne £1000, to be paid at the Church Porch of Merton on attainment of twenty years or marriage .... gives wife power to sell his Beechamwell estate .... wife and daughters to have their sheepe or such sheepe as are reputed theirs .... that shall be goeing or kept amongst my flocke .... And for that my house is not soe well furnished with household stuffe or furniture as to dispose any part thereof to my deare wife, I do will to her the sum of £40 in lieu of such part thereof as I intended to have given to her, which I desire her kinde acceptance of .... to son William furniture and library of books .... to brother-in-law Thos. Bacon £10 .... to Mr. Warren, minister of the town of Merton, 20s. .... to the poore of Merton, £5. *Seal, Cornerd quartering Baynard.*

Elizabeth was the eldest daughter of James, and it seems she was not either baptized or married at Merton.

24th June, 1672. Settlement on Elizabeth de Grey (daughter of James), shortly to be married to Sir William Rant\* (at Thorpe Market), made by Elizabeth her mother, widow of James.

Elizabeth, widow of James de Grey, appears to have lived at

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\* Sir William Rant was only son of Dr. Rant of London, and nephew and heir of Sir Thomas Rant of Thorpe Market, who died 1671, a. p. Elizabeth, Sir William's wife, died in London, 23rd December, 1697, of the smallpox, and was buried at Thorpe Market.—Carthew's *Launditch*, iii. 457. For the inscriptions on the monuments of Sir William and his wife see Rye's *North Erpingham Notes*, p. 382. The Rants perhaps lived for the first year after their marriage at Merton Hall. At any rate their first child was born there.

"Elizabeth, daughter of S<sup>r</sup> William Rant, Knight, and the Lady Elizabeth his wife was baptized july iij<sup>d</sup> 1673."—*Merton Register*.

Merton for many years, with her son William and his wife and children, paying for her own board and for that of her servants, and for the keep of her horses. (See William de Grey's account-book.) In 1690 she was living, probably, with her eldest daughter, Lady Rant, at Thorpe Market—no doubt having left Merton after her son's death in 1687. She is described as of Thorpe Market, grandmother and guardian of Thomas de Grey, son and heir of William de Grey.

Mrs. de Grey survived her husband thirty-one years, and died at the age of seventy-nine.

"Madam Elizabeth de Grey relict of James de Grey, Esq., dyed Sept. y<sup>e</sup> 15th and was buried Sept. 21, 1696."—*Merton Register*.

She was buried in her husband's grave, and the inscription testifies of "her wholl life having bene a continued example of great vertu and prudence."

### Edmund de Grey.

Box [ff].

Edmund de Grey was a major in the army. He was baptized at Merton in 1618.<sup>7</sup> He married Alice, daughter of Sir Anthony Irby of Boston and widow of Francis Jermy of Gunton. Edmund apparently never succumbed, except outwardly, to the Parliament. We find him among those who compounded instead of having their property sequestered, so that he must have promised not to take up arms against the Parliament, but the fact of his compounding proves him to have been a Royalist at heart. Edmund de Grey, like his brother James, signed the address of welcome to King Charles II.

#### EDMUND DE GREY'S COMPOSITION.

De Grey, Edmund, Merton, had been a captain in the Royalist army under Sir Ralph Hopton, and submitted under the articles of

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<sup>7</sup> Edmund the soone of Sr Will'm de Grey, Knight, was baptised the xiiij<sup>th</sup> of februarye 1618 [1619.]

Truro, petitioning on the 27th Feb., 1646. His only property was an annuity of £23 a year, charged on lands in Merton. Fine £34. 10s. 0d.—(Mason's *Norfolk*, i. 318.) Edmund de Grey married about 1653 (see Rye's *North Erp. Notes*, p. 302.) In a deed, 10th June, 1656, Edmond de Grey is called of Felmingham, and 7th April, 1665, of Antingham. His wife died 30th July, 1665, and was buried at Gunton.

Antingham was at this time the residence of a younger branch of the Calthorps of Cockthorpe (*Norf. Archæol.*, ix. 163), and was close to Gunton, the property of the Jermy family. The Jermys and Calthorps had intermarried (see Rye's *North Erp. Notes*, p. 92.) Edmund de Grey had an annuity of £23. 6s. 8d. left him by his father. (Mentioned in deed 22nd May, 9th Charles, Box [f].)

At least as early as 1677 Edmund de Grey went to live at Merton Hall with his nephew William de Grey, paying for his own board and his servants £32 a year; and also paying for his nephew Thomas Guybon's board. They both left apparently in 1678, and the major was there again from 1682 to 1686, when he went to live at Thetford.

In a deed, 6th September, 1681, he is called late of Thursford. Thursford was the home of his sister, Lady Guybon.

In a deed, 26th August, 1686, he is called "late of Merton, Esq."

Major de Grey, while at Merton, had a horse there, for the keep of which he paid. One entry is as follows: "Ap. 18, 1684, received of my Uncle Major de Grey, for his two horses hay for halfe a yeare, which I would not take in kind, but he gave it to buy my boy Tho. a capp and feather, £3. 0. 0."

Edmund de Grey died at Thetford, and was buried at Merton\* (see his executor's accounts at Merton, Box [ff].)

In the inventory of Merton Hall, 1689, there is a room called "The old Maiors chamber."

Just before the wedding of Anne Wood in 1686 [see page 88], Major de Grey's sister Jane [the wife of Thos. Bacon, Esq.], writes to him, "I am hartily glad to here hous keeping is so a greabell

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\* Maj<sup>r</sup> Edmund de Grey was buried March y<sup>e</sup> sixth 1688 affid.

to you, and that you have your halth much beter than att Marton.”<sup>\*</sup>

In the postscript is what was no doubt a little family joke, “my love to Mrs. Jane that was for I har she will be no loser by being your hous keper as I here.” As the major was sixty-eight, we may believe that no scandal was hinted at. The letter is addressed—

Thes  
ffor my dere Brother  
Magger de Gray att  
his house in thetford  
present.

4th Feb., 1688. Will of Edmund de Grey.

Body to be buried in the south alley of Merton church<sup>1</sup>....  
To my loving niece Mrs. Glasscocke,<sup>2</sup> £5 .... To my godson  
Thomas Glasscocke £3 .... To the church of Merton £5 in  
money to buy a piece of plate for the altar<sup>3</sup> .... To Dame  
Elizabeth Rant<sup>4</sup> my niece £5 .... To cousin Harding, Captain  
Rookwood's daughter 20s. .... To my dear nephew Thos. de

<sup>\*</sup> The gentry of the seventeenth century no doubt pronounced the name Merton just as they now pronounce the name Derby, sounding the *e* as *a*. The labouring classes still say “Marton,” as they say sarvant, sartain. Mrs. de Grey, c. 1720, writes “sarviceably.” In many old deeds the name is written “Marton,” sometimes Martin or Marten; almost always, however, “Merton” in the court-rolls. The name is supposed to mean the tun or inclosure—afterwards the village—by the mere; and there is still a small mere near the church, which appears by the conformation of the surrounding land to have been once of much greater extent. Our oldest villagers still use the word “town” instead of “village,” *e.g.*, “There were n't so many housen in the town fifty years ago as there be now.” As an instance of a contrary pronunciation, Barton in Suffolk is constantly in old deeds written Berton.

<sup>1</sup> There is no gravestone to Edmund de Grey.

<sup>2</sup> Edmund's eldest sister, Barbara, married Sir Thomas Guybon of Thursford (see page 64), and their third daughter, Mary, married William Glasscock, afterwards Sir William Glasscock, Knt., of Barton Mills.—Page's *Suff.*, p. 826.

<sup>3</sup> There is no communion plate of this date. There is a paten and alms plate, both of the date 1708, and a chalice of the date 1711.

<sup>4</sup> His brother James's daughter (see *supra*, p. 76.)



Grey<sup>5</sup> all my lands in Hockering and Northtudnam .. house and lands in Sporle .. close in Watton .... to my niece Anne Palgrave,<sup>6</sup> daughter of Sir John Palgrave, Bart., £5 .... To the Town of Merton £5 to buy a small piece of ground for the yearly use of the poor of the town .... sister de Grey<sup>7</sup> of Merton a ring .... my lady de Grey<sup>8</sup> of Bury a ring .... Mrs. Susanna de Grey and Mrs. Anne<sup>9</sup> each £5 .... James Bedingfield<sup>1</sup> alias de Grey £3 .... To put a small monument in Gunton church for my dare wife, Mrs. Alice de Grey. (For the inscription on this monument see Rye's *North Exp. Notes*, p. 302.) Residuary, Thomas de Grey, [great] nephew. Sir Christopher Calthorpe,<sup>2</sup> sole executor. Proved 26th March, 1690.

### William de Grey.

Box [g].

William de Grey was born at Merton in 1652.<sup>3</sup> His father, James, died when he was thirteen years old, but the laws with respect to wards of the Crown had been repealed, and William did not suffer as his uncle and grandfather had

<sup>5</sup> This was no doubt his *great* nephew, Thomas de Grey of Merton, who, at Edmund's death, was ten years old, and had lost both his father and mother.

<sup>6</sup> Anne Palgrave was the daughter of Edmund's sister Anne by her second husband. Her first husband was Cotton Gascoigne of Illington, Esq.

<sup>7</sup> Elizabeth de Grey née Stuteville, widow of Edmund's brother James, and guardian to her grandson Thomas de Grey of Merton after his parents' deaths.

<sup>8</sup> Elizabeth, widow of Sir Robert de Grey, and daughter and coheirress of William Bridon of Ipswich, gent.

<sup>9</sup> Susan and Anne were Edmund's nieces, daughters of his brother James. Both died unmarried and were buried in Merton chancel.

<sup>1</sup> James Bedingfield, alias de Grey, was Edmund's great nephew, and brother of Thomas de Grey of Merton.

<sup>2</sup> Edmund de Grey's mother was Anne Calthorpe, and her brother's grandson was this Sir Christopher Calthorpe of East Barham, Knt.

<sup>3</sup> William y<sup>e</sup> son of James de Grey Esq. and Elizabeth his wife, was borne October 21<sup>th</sup>, baptized Novem. y<sup>e</sup> 2, 1652.—*Merton Register*.

done. William de Grey appears to have lived at Merton with his mother, until he had arrived at the age of twenty-two, and then to have married Elizabeth, sister and eventually coheir of Thomas Bedingfield of Darsham, Esq. By her he had eleven children, of whom five survived him. Both he and his wife died young.

William de Grey seems to have inherited the accuracy and business habits of his grandfather Sir William. His account and note books are of great interest, as showing the habits and mode of life of a country gentleman of good estate two hundred years ago.

We see him residing at his country seat, except when he paid visits to his county neighbours, as to Mr. Wilson of Didlington, or when he was obliged to go to London to fulfil his duties as a Member of Parliament for Thetford, and then going, no doubt, in his coach and four (Book No. II., p. 3) and taking three days to do that journey from Merton to London, which is now done in as many hours. We see him hospitable and kind to his kindred, however distantly related, over-filling his house with them; and we note that it was not considered mean to receive payment for the board and lodging of friends and relations, and their servants and horses; for he enters the receipts as a matter of course in his accounts, and the same persons come again and again to his house. We see him in other respects liberal yet careful, giving the Rector his Easter offering, yet taking from him the price of the keep of his horse which stood in the Merton stables. We see him generous upon occasions to his tenants, yet determined that they shall obey. We see him acting as banker to his servants, and paying them interest on the money they deposit in his hands. We see him kind to his mother who lived with him till he died, yet so cautious, as evidently to prefer her written to her verbal promise. We see his simple amusements, a game of backgammon with his uncle, a sight of a wrestling match at the little town

of Watton, hard by, a frequent visit to the bowling green at the George Inn there, with the Rector and a friend, Mr. de Grey paying their charges as well as his own, and yet, generally coming off a gainer, which shows he was a skilful player.

Four sums in 1686, the last year but one of his life, William de Grey records as having won at Watton bowling green. The Squire and the Rector twice were there together, and some other friends; Mr. de Grey paying what he calls the ordinary and extraordinary charges of his friends.

After July, 1686, the handwriting alters; perhaps it is now that of Mrs. de Grey the wife. There are, however, but few entries recorded.

Then, on 1st March, 1687, William de Grey was buried,<sup>4</sup> having died at the early age of thirty-five, and Joshua Chadwick the Rector, who seems to have been truly grieved at the death of his friend, writes in the Register book, "*Flebilis omnibus nulli flebilior quam michi*," J. C. The position of William de Grey's grave and of that of his wife is unknown.

Then Joshua Chadwick's only child died in April, 1687.

On 22nd April, 1687, there is an entry in the receipt book of £45 for a pair of coach horses, as if the widow knew she would want them no more. Then in May, Mrs. de Grey gave birth to a son,<sup>5</sup> and to him she gave the name William, in memory of her husband.

The last entry in the receipt book is dated 2nd June, 1687, and in August, died Madam Elizabeth de Grey,<sup>6</sup> and

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#### ENTRIES IN MERTON REGISTER.

<sup>4</sup> Maj<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> de Grey, Esq., died Febr. 27 and was buried March y<sup>e</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> 1687.

<sup>5</sup> W<sup>m</sup> y<sup>e</sup> son of y<sup>e</sup> late W<sup>m</sup> de Grey Esq<sup>r</sup>, and Elizabeth his relict, was baptized May 5<sup>th</sup> 1687.

<sup>6</sup> Madam Eliz. de Grey, relict of Maj<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> de Grey died Aug. 1 and was buried Aug. ij, 1687.

Joshua Chadwick writes in the Register book, "Ingens dolor stupet."

I give what I know of the Rector's after history. He had four children born to him in 1687, 1689, 1690, and 1691, and in 1695 there is this entry, "Joshua Chadwick Master of Arts and Rector of this Parish, dyed Nov. 23 and was buried Nov. 25, 1695." The position of his grave is unknown.

Joshua Chadwick had been Rector of Merton nineteen years. He was appointed in 1676 by William de Grey. He seems to have continued a bachelor nine years, and then he married Jane Clements of Watton. The marriage took place at Merton.

The posthumous baby, William de Grey, lived only one year,<sup>7</sup> and thus the attempt to continue in the child the name of the father failed with the youngest son, as it had failed with the eldest.

#### THE ELEVEN CHILDREN OF WILLIAM DE GREY.

JEREMIAH, eldest son, died young.—(Edmondson's *Baronagium*.)

WILLIAM, baptized and buried 1675, at Merton.<sup>8</sup>

THOMAS, son and heir (page 99), baptized 1680, at Merton.

ROBERT, baptized 1676, at Weston; buried there 1679.<sup>9</sup>

ELIZABETH, baptized at Merton,<sup>1</sup> died in London, of the small pox, in 1717 (*Norfolk. Archæol.* ii. 125), and was buried at Merton.<sup>2</sup> Her grave is unknown.

<sup>7</sup> William y<sup>e</sup> son of Maj<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> de Grey and Eliz. his reliot, died March 22<sup>d</sup>, and was buried March 24, 1684.

<sup>8</sup> William son of William de Grey Esquier and Elizabeth his wife, was born xvij, baptized xxvij<sup>th</sup> Decemb., and buryed January xij<sup>th</sup>, 1675.

<sup>9</sup> Robert son of Will<sup>m</sup> de Grey and Elizabeth his wife, was baptized March xij, 1676.

Rob<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> son of Will<sup>m</sup> de Grey Esq. and Elizabeth his wife, was buried y<sup>e</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> of September, 1679.

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth y<sup>e</sup> daughter of Will<sup>m</sup> de Grey Esq. and Elizabeth his wife, was baptized y<sup>e</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> of Sept., 1678.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Elizabeth de Grey was buryd Sept. 12<sup>th</sup>, 1717.

16th January, 1710. The will of Elizabeth de Grey of Yoxford . . . . . To my well-beloved brother Thos. de Grey of Marton, gent., the interest of £500 for life and my wrought bed . . . . To brother James Bedingfield, alias de Grey, £500 and a diamond ring. To Christopher Calthorpe, brother-in-law, and Hannah Maria his wife, the interest for life of £1500. To the poor of the parish of Marton £10 . . . . In a codicil (not signed) my now brother-in-law Erasmus Earle to be executor in place of Christopher Calthorpe, deceased, and to have the interest of the £1500. There is an order by the Master of the Rolls to carry out the codicil, though it was not signed.

[Lady Blois of Yoxford was Elizabeth's second cousin (see p. 69). This accounts for Elizabeth having resided there. Elizabeth leaves to trustees for the use of Dame Anne Blois, wife of Sir Charles Blois of Yoxford, Barronet, £500. Remainder to their three children, Anne, John, and Ralph Blois.]

HANNAH MARIA, baptized 1681, at Merton.<sup>3</sup> Married 21st May, 1704, at Darsham, which belonged to her uncle, Sir John Rous, to Christopher Calthorpe of East Barsham, Esq. This match must have been thought a good one for Miss de Grey. Christopher Calthorpe was the only surviving son of Sir Christopher Calthorpe of Wolterton manor-house, in East Barsham, one of the finest moulded-brick houses in England. This Sir Christopher, the representative of the Calthorpes of Cockthorpe,—a family that had been settled in Norfolk since 1240,—had fourteen children; but all the sons, including Hannah Maria's husband, and all the daughters but two, died before their father. Hannah Maria had two daughters, who both died in infancy, and one son, Christopher, who alone was left to continue the name and inherit the estates of the Calthorpes of Barsham. He, however, died in 1720, at the age of thirteen years. By his death, East Barsham passed in 1747 to the L'Estranges. So with Christopher, the son of Hannah Maria, the Calthorpes of East Barsham came to an end, and Wolterton gradually fell into ruin. (See Mr. Lee Warner's paper on the Calthorpes in *Norf. Archaeol.* ix. 153.) Hannah Maria married secondly, 25th July, 1717, Erasmus Earle of Salle, Esq., who, in 1714, had

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<sup>3</sup> Hannah Maria y<sup>e</sup> daughter of Will<sup>m</sup> de Grey Esq<sup>r</sup>, and Elizabeth his wife, was baptized March 15, 1681.

contested Norfolk against Thomas de Grey, her brother, but was returned at the bottom of the poll.

**JEMIMA**, baptized at Merton 1682,<sup>4</sup> and buried there 1684.<sup>5</sup>

**MARY**.

**JAMES**. (See p. 96.)

**NICHOLAS**, baptized and buried at Merton 1685.<sup>6</sup>

**WILLIAM**, posthumous (see p. 83), died an infant. He lost his mother when he was three months old.

I have said that William de Grey overfilled his house with his kinsfolk. Indeed, he seems to have turned Merton Hall into an hotel for the family. He had at one time—as appears by his receipt-books—staying with him, and all paying for their own and their servants' board, and their horses' keep :

His mother, with her maid and page and horses ;

His uncle, Major Edmund de Grey, with his manservant and horse ;

His cousin, Thos. Guybon, with his manservant and horse ;

His cousin, Mrs. Wood, with her daughter Anne, their maid, man, and four horses ;

His cousin Roger Wood and his man ;

His sisters, Susan and Anne de Grey (Sue and Nanne), and their maids.

*Items in the Receipt-books relating to Visitors at Merton.*

Book No. I. p. 6. Oct. 17, 1677. Received my sist<sup>r</sup> Nannes Halfe yeeres Borde for her selfe due at Midsomer last at 20<sup>u</sup> a yeere, &c. Q<sup>r</sup> Borde of her Maide due at y<sup>e</sup> same time at 15<sup>u</sup> a yeere.

My sister Sue owes me y<sup>e</sup> other Q<sup>r</sup> due at Midsomer last for her Maids Borde 03<sup>u</sup>. 15. 00.

<sup>4</sup> Jemima y<sup>e</sup> daughter of Will<sup>m</sup> de Grey Esq<sup>r</sup> and Elizabeth his wife, received private baptism Feb. 12, 1682.

<sup>5</sup> Jemima y<sup>e</sup> daughter of W<sup>m</sup> de Grey Esq<sup>r</sup> and Eliz. his wife, was buried April 8<sup>th</sup> 1684.

<sup>6</sup> Nicolas y<sup>e</sup> son of W<sup>m</sup> de Grey Esq<sup>r</sup> and Elizabeth his wife, was baptiz'd Octobr 25<sup>th</sup>, 1685.

Nicolas y<sup>e</sup> son of W<sup>m</sup> de Grey Esq<sup>r</sup> and Elizabeth his wife, was buried Feb. 28<sup>th</sup>, 1685.

Receiv<sup>d</sup> of my uncle Major De Grey his Halfe yeeres Borde for Himselfe, 10<sup>u</sup>. 10. 00.

Receiv<sup>d</sup> of him more Halfe a yeeres Borde due now for my Cozen Thom Guybon and his man, 20<sup>u</sup>. 00. 00.

Receiv<sup>d</sup> more for his (the Major's) Friends and Tenants commins in, a Gratuitye to buye a Terce of wine withall, 05<sup>u</sup>. 10. 00.

Page 10. March 25, 1678. Receiv<sup>d</sup> then of M<sup>r</sup> De Grey my Mother a Q<sup>r</sup> borde for herselfe, maide and boye . . . . at 60<sup>u</sup> a yeere 15<sup>u</sup>. 00. 00.

Receiv<sup>d</sup> more a Q<sup>r</sup> keeping her Horses w<sup>th</sup> Haye at 8<sup>u</sup> a yeere 02<sup>u</sup>. 00. 00.

Nov. 14, 1680, p. 148. Rec<sup>d</sup> then of my Aunt Stewart in part of her halfe yeeres borde which ends about y<sup>e</sup> middle of this month, 20<sup>u</sup>. 00. 00.

Nov. 23. Rec<sup>d</sup> then of my mother M<sup>r</sup> De Grey a kind present for my brother and sister Rants stay a month here, and for little Miss Betty Rants<sup>7</sup> being with us neere a Q<sup>r</sup> of a yeere. All which notwithstanding I should have bin ashamed to have taken anything upon this account, had not her extraordinary kindness forced me to take 05<sup>u</sup>. 00. 00.

Page 152. Jan. 21, 1681. Received by y<sup>e</sup> handes of my wife from my Cozen Anne Gaudy for her boarde here from Oct. 8<sup>th</sup>, 1680 till y<sup>e</sup> 28<sup>th</sup> inst., w<sup>ch</sup> was 16 weekes and w<sup>h</sup> at 16<sup>th</sup> a weeke for her selfe and maid as was promis'd to be allow'd, came to 12<sup>u</sup> 16<sup>th</sup>, but being a Relation I took in full satisfaction of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> time but 10<sup>u</sup>. 00. 00.

Page 152. Mar. 15, 1681. Rec. for y<sup>e</sup> wood my Coz. Guybon burnt in his chamber, 01. 01. 00.

Page 188. April 12, 1682. Received of my Cozen Barbara Guybon a Q<sup>r</sup> Boarde of her servant Will<sup>m</sup> Lock, 03<sup>u</sup>. 15<sup>u</sup>. 00.

Received of my servant John Randall, which he desired me to

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<sup>7</sup> Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Rant and Elizabeth [de Grey] his wife, (see *supra*, p. 76), married Robert Britiffe, Esq., Recorder of Norwich and M.P. for the same place. She died 7th February, 1712, aged forty, and was buried at Thorpe Market. For the inscription on her monument see Rye's *North Erpingham Notes*, p. 383.

take upon interest as an addition to y<sup>e</sup> other 5<sup>n</sup> I have of his, 01. 00. 00.

Page 192. May 17, 1682. Received then of Mr. Chadwicke of Merton, for finding his Horse with oates from y<sup>e</sup> 16 Sept. last y<sup>e</sup> he came into y<sup>e</sup> Stable, 02<sup>n</sup>. 17<sup>s</sup>. 00.

Book II. page 87. Oct. 17, 1685. Rec. of my Coz. Roger Wood (who came with his man hither about y<sup>e</sup> middle of Sep. last, and would have paid weekly for his borde as his mother and his servants did, but I would not let him) a present in lieu of y<sup>e</sup> same of wine which he had bought and wd. not let me pay for, to y<sup>e</sup> valew of about 06. 00. 00.

The Wood family were I suppose, related to the de Greys or the Bedingfields, as William de Grey calls them cousins, and they several times came to visit at Merton Hall. In 1684 they stayed there twelve weeks.

"Rec<sup>d</sup> from my Coz. Wood of London [widow? of Robert Wood of Islington, Esq.] a weekes borde of her selfe Daughter [Anne] a maide and a man, who came hither y<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> instant, and are to paye y<sup>e</sup> time they stay here at y<sup>e</sup> same rate they doe now. viz., 10<sup>s</sup> a weeke herself and Daughter and 5<sup>s</sup> a week apiece for their serv<sup>ts</sup>, 1. 10. 0.—P. 45.

Page 35. Rec<sup>d</sup> more for her 4 Horses Hay about a month in y<sup>e</sup> time she was here, £2. 0. 0.

The Woods came again in 1685 and stayed a few weeks. This last visit seems to have brought about a marriage, for in the Merton Register there is this entry:—

S<sup>r</sup> Jo. Rouse of Henham in Suff., Baronet, and Mrs. An'e Wood, were married Sept. 8th, 1686. Suckling (*Hist. of Suff. Pedigree of Rous*) says she was daughter and heir of Robert Wood of Islington, Esq. Guillam says that Wood of Islington bore "Argent, a wolf passant azure, a chief gules—granted to Serjeant Wood 1606." This shield corresponds neither with that of Wood of Norwich (*Visitation of Norf.*, i. 28), nor with that of Wood of Blakeney, Norfolk, now of Littleton and Gweruyfed, so that I suppose the families were distinct.

HARL. MS. 1551, FOL. 131 B., AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

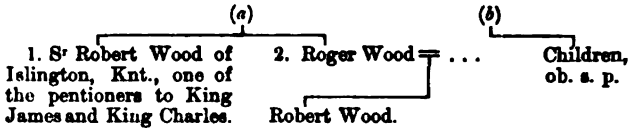
Kindly given me by W. C. Metcalfe, Esq.

.....da. of .....	— Roger Wood of Isling—	Rose, da. of Robert
Harrison of ... sister of	ton, in com. Midlesex,	Carr of London. 2
... Harrison of London,	Esq., sergant-at-arms.	wiffe.
cursetor. 1 wiffe.		

(a)

(b)





**ARMS:** granted February, 1606. *Argent, a wolf passant sable, a chief gules.*  
**CREST:** Out of a mural coronet, gules, a wolf's head sable, collared argent.

Sir John Rous of Henham was a widower. His first wife was Philippa,<sup>o</sup> sister of William de Grey's wife Elizabeth, and daughter of Thomas Bedingfield of Darsham. She died in 1685. She left one son, afterwards Sir John Rous of Henham, Suffolk, who died s. p., and was succeeded by his half brother (Anne Wood's son), Sir Robert.

It was on the occasion of this marriage of Sir John Rous with Anne Wood, that Jane, the wife of Thomas Bacon, Esq., and aunt of William de Grey, wrote in a letter (from which I have already given an extract under Edmund de Grey, see p. 78.) "Ther is great wedden at Morton ef y<sup>e</sup> yong womans helth will geue Leave, I suppose you know hoo it is, Mers Wod, to S<sup>r</sup> John Rouce, my Lady Rant<sup>o</sup> is a going to ett, my cosens Grays Relations get all y<sup>e</sup> good maches, I her S<sup>r</sup> John Gaddy<sup>1</sup> and hes son is to bord at Marton, so that there will be a mache for ayther Mrs. Kneffet or Mrs. Barker for thay ar Both ther, so that my 2 neces<sup>s</sup> shall get non." This letter seems to show that Sir William de Grey did not spend much on the education of his daughters, perhaps "the weight of the over many children," as he expresses it, may have caused the education of some to be neglected.

<sup>o</sup> Philippa Bedingfield's portrait is at Merton Hall.

<sup>o</sup> Lady Rant (see *supra*, page 76.)

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Gawdy of West Harling, Bart, "was born Oct. 4th, 1639, and died in 1699. He was deaf and dumb, but an admirable painter and most ingenious man (Blomefield, under *West Harling*.) He married Anne, daughter and coheir of Sir Robert de Grey, Knt., of Merton, deceased, and niece of Mrs. Bacon. He left by her one son and one daughter. The son, Sir Bassingbourne Gawdy, Bart., notwithstanding Mrs. Bacon's match-making, died unmarried October 10th, 1723, leaving his estate to the daughters and coheirs of his sister Anne, who had married Oliver Le Neve of Great Wichingham, Esq. (Blomefield.)

<sup>2</sup> Probably Susan and Anne de Grey, two spinster nieces, of about the age of thirty-five years, who both lived at Merton Hall.

In William de Grey's receipt books the following cousins are mentioned.

- No. I., p. 152. Coz. Anne Gaudy.<sup>3</sup>  
 186. Coz. Charles Lestrangle.<sup>4</sup>  
 188. Coz. Barbara Guybon.<sup>5</sup>  
 196. Coz. Charles Beddingfield of Ditchingham.  
 196. Coz. Wilton.  
 No. II., p. 11. Coz. Thomas Wright of Downham.<sup>6</sup>  
 11. Coz. Roger Wood.  
 57. Coz. Bedingfield of Sturston.  
 59. Coz. Hamon Lestrangle of Berton, Suffolk.<sup>7</sup>  
 59. Coz. James Calthorpe.<sup>8</sup>
- 

<sup>3</sup> Anne, daughter of Sir Robert de Grey, deceased, and first cousin to William. She was wife of Sir John Gawdy as above stated (note, p. 88.)

<sup>4</sup> Probably Charles Lestrangle, seventh son of Sir Nicholas of Hunstanton, the first Baronet. He was first cousin of Barbara Bullock's husband, (see note 7.) He died 25th August, 1698, and was buried at Hunstanton. Cousin was a term of very wide application in the seventeenth century.

<sup>5</sup> Daughter of William's aunt Barbara, who was wife of Sir Thomas Guybon of Thursford.

<sup>6</sup> Probably Thomas Wright of Santon Downham, Esq., son of John Wright of East Lexham, by his wife Joanna, daughter of Thomas Steward of Barton Mills, and grandson of Thomas Wright of Kilverston. Joanna Steward was sister of William de Grey's uncle. For Thomas Steward see p. 98, *infra*.

<sup>7</sup> Probably Hamon l'Estrange of Pakenham, Esq., nephew of Sir Nicholas the first Baronet. Hamon l'Estrange married for his second wife, Barbara, daughter of Edward Bullock of Fulkbourn, Esq., by Mary his wife, daughter of Sir William de Grey, first cousin of William de Grey. Perhaps Mr. L'Estrange resided for the time at Berton (Great Barton) the next village to Pakenham. He died 4th May, 1717 (*Norfolk Vis.* i. 443.) He and his wife Barbara were both buried at Holme-next-the-Sea.

<sup>8</sup> Probably James, eldest son of Sir Christopher Calthorpe of East Barham, by Dorothy, daughter of Sir William Spring of Pakenham. James died s. p. 1696, and was buried at Pakenham. James Calthorpe's father was Edmund de Grey's executor (see p. 80.) His grandfather was nephew of Sir William de Grey, William's grandfather, so that the relationship was a distant one.

59. Coz. Elizabeth Castle.\*  
 69. Coz. Robin Bedingfield of London.  
 121. Coz. Paston.  
 121. Coz. Jack Bedingfield.

The following are amongst the most interesting of the other items in William de Grey's receipt books.

No. II., p. 47. 20 July, 1684. My brother Bedingfield was unfortunately killed in Norwich streets in the time of the assizes [Mr. Berney who killed him was hung for this] the administration of whose personal estate came to myselfe and S<sup>r</sup> John Rous in o<sup>r</sup> wives right.

Page 59. My brother Bedingfield's administration, debts, funeral charges, &c., came to more than £1000.

Book No. I, p. 12. April 12, 1678. Rec. of Mr. Lerington of Norwich, Sheriff and Goldsmith, for 5 outlandish Ducketts pieces of gold at 6<sup>th</sup> apiece.

Page 75. Nov. 27, 1678. Rec. of Robert Marshall of Assington several yeeres arrears of a Quitt Rent at 2<sup>s</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> a yeere, which came to betwixt 50 shill. and three pound, and wh. by reason of his obstinacye I was forced to take a Distress for. Though after all by reason of his being a poore man and caryinge himselfe more submissivelye, I p<sup>d</sup> the charge of the Distress, 5<sup>th</sup> and tooke but 02<sup>th</sup>. 05. 00.

Page 105. For mending y<sup>e</sup> musket y<sup>e</sup> his Farme is charged withall for y<sup>e</sup> finding a Foote Armes.

Page 131. Dec. 22, 1680, y<sup>e</sup> Fast Daye. M<sup>r</sup>. John Basker begged now an old Pollin Ash Tree which stands upon some part of his Farme, which is quite dead, and has not above a load of wood on it, for firing, which as He is an honest Neighbour and a good Tenant and in consideration of his being now about to marry my wives Cookmaide I did give him, but not intending it should become a President for y<sup>e</sup> future.

Page 144. Aug. 5, 1680. Rec. and borrowed then of M<sup>r</sup> De

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\* Daughter of William's aunt Ellen, who was wife of Talmach Castle of Raveningham, Esq.

Grey my mother, now upon my going to buy a Horse at Wolpit Faire which is to be repaid to her upon Demande, 10<sup>u</sup>. 00. 00.

Page 155. Oct., 1680.\* For ye paye of our Foote Souldier who was out 5 days of last summer and for powder, musket scowring, & y<sup>e</sup> souldiers wages being 18<sup>d</sup> a Daye .... (we being 6<sup>d</sup> Halfe a Foote armes 25<sup>u</sup> a yeere) i.e., for Dalham and Chevety, 00. 01. 00.

Page 167. Dec. 6, 1681. Given Rich<sup>d</sup> Quantril<sup>1</sup> out of kindness, He being an Honest Industrious man, and to encourage Him in y<sup>e</sup> careful paying his Rent, 00. 01. 00.

Page 82. Jan. 24, 1682. I have this present day these several summes following in my hands, belonging to sev<sup>l</sup> of my servants which I am to paye interest for at y<sup>e</sup> rate of 6 per cent. I note it here because not any of them but Jane Ives have any bond note or anything under my hand ..... for their securitie of it. £68 in all.

Page 186. March 25, 1682. Rec<sup>d</sup> of Nurse Middleditch and borrowed of her upon Interest, 11<sup>u</sup>. 00. 00.

March 26. Received and borrowed more of Jane Ives upon Interest.

M<sup>dm</sup>. These summes I tooke upon their earnest Intreatyes not having else occasion to borrowe monye at this time.

Page 188. Ap. 16, 1682. Rec<sup>d</sup> and borrowed of my sister Nanne to give Mr. Chadwicke [Rector of Merton] now as an Easter Offering a Guinnie, 01<sup>u</sup> 01<sup>s</sup> 06<sup>d</sup>.

Page 196. July 1, 1682. Wonne of my Uncle Grey at tables [backgammon] 00. 04. 00.

Page 206. Oct. 31, 1682. Rec. of my mother M<sup>rs</sup> De Grey, a kind present given me, upon owning me her valentine y<sup>e</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> of Feb. last past, 20<sup>u</sup>. 00. 00.

Book No. II., p. 1. Jan. 12, 1683. Wonne at Watton upon a Wrastling there betwixt one White of Thetford and one Martin servant to S<sup>r</sup> Francis Jernegan, the first of which wonne 00. 10. 00.

Jan. 29, 1683. Rec. of Mr. Bemmye Tasburgh monye which he ought me at play, ever since last Summer 01. 00. 00.

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<sup>1</sup> The name of Quantrill still exists in Merton.

Page 2. Jan. 3, 1683. Rec. more for byndayes or worke in Harvest [Binddays, days on which Tenants were obliged to reap their lord's corn (Halliwell)], 00. 11. 06.

Page 11. June 17, 1683. Rec. of my Uncle Major De Grey y<sup>e</sup> mony for y<sup>e</sup> Capp and Feather my sister Rant bought at London for my Boy Tommye which my uncle gave him and now p<sup>d</sup> for, 01. 02. 06.

Book No. II., p. 15. July 15, 1683. Rec<sup>d</sup> of M<sup>r</sup> De Grey my mother, monye which I laid out for her use and p<sup>d</sup> to Mr. Brakden, Mercer in Norwich for her Boyes Livery . . . viz., 2½ y<sup>a</sup> of Shallone or Fillimot serge at 2<sup>a</sup> 4<sup>d</sup>, three y<sup>a</sup> of Serge at 3<sup>s</sup> 3<sup>d</sup>, Halfe an ounce of silke 8<sup>d</sup>, 7½ y<sup>a</sup> of Law at 9<sup>d</sup>, A pocket skin 6<sup>d</sup>, seven dozen brass buttons 3<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup> . . . an ell of blew Cloth at 10<sup>s</sup> a yard.

Receipt Book No. II., p. 73. May 10, 1685. I set out with my wife towards London upon y<sup>e</sup> approaching of y<sup>e</sup> Parliament, which was to meete y<sup>e</sup> 19<sup>th</sup> of this month [the first Parliament of James II.] where after a great Controversye and Dispute, my Election for one of the Burgesses for y<sup>e</sup> Toune of Thetford was judged good. I staid in London till y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup> of July, y<sup>e</sup> Day after y<sup>e</sup> Parliam<sup>t</sup> was adjourned and came then out of Toune and got home y<sup>e</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> of July.

Again, Nov<sup>r</sup> 5, in the same year. I set out for London to y<sup>e</sup> meeting of y<sup>e</sup> Parliament, where I continued till y<sup>e</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> instant when I set out for ye Country againe y<sup>e</sup> Parliam<sup>t</sup> having bin Prorogued the 20<sup>th</sup>. [The King had proposed to keep Catholic officers in the army, and being unable to obtain the assent of Parliament, he prorogued it.—Smith's *England*, 246.]

Page 85. Oct. 15, 1685. Rec. by M<sup>r</sup> de Grey my mother's order, to be disbursed by me and accounted to her, in the charge of y<sup>e</sup> brick wall she is building for me about my great coach yard, 100<sup>li</sup>. 00. 00.

Page 92. Nov. 4, 1685. I gave Will<sup>m</sup> Graver in consideration of himselfe his wife and Family's being sorely visited with y<sup>e</sup> Small Pox about Christmas Time 1683, which was a great charge to him beside a hindrance in his business. Given I say upon this account 03. 12. 4.

Page 111. March 22, 1686. Rec<sup>d</sup> of my Mother. . . . towards y<sup>e</sup> buying in a new sett of Coach Horses.

Page 121. June 3, 1686. "Won at Watton bowling greene clear besides my owne charges M<sup>r</sup> Chadwicks and M<sup>r</sup> Seppens's 00. 09. 06." June 17, 1686.

#### DEEDS.

5 Jan. 1674. Marriage Settlement between William de Grey and Elizabeth Bedingfield, eldest sister of Thos. Bedingfield, Esq., of Darsham (see Vol. II. page 603.) Trustees—Thomas Bacon of Grays' Inn,<sup>2</sup> Henry Bedinfield of Lincoln's Inn, Sir Will<sup>m</sup> Rant of Thorpe Market,<sup>3</sup> Francis Guybon of Thursford Esq.,<sup>4</sup> Thomas Knyvett Esq., son and heir of Sir John Knyvett K<sup>t</sup>., late of Ashwell Thorpe, dec<sup>d</sup>.<sup>5</sup> Thomas Bedingfield Esq., grandchild and heir of Sir Thos. Bedingfield late of Darsham, dec<sup>d</sup> (the fiancée). A marriage shortly to be had and solemnized between the said William de Grey and the said Elizabeth Bedingfield. Elizabeth's portion £3600.

6 June, 1681. William de Grey's admittance to the freedom of the Town of Thetford.

#### 1677. NOTE BOOK OF WILLIAM DE GREY.

These notes, in William de Grey's firm and good handwriting, give an accurate description of the terms on which his lands are let; but the only portion that is of general interest is that containing an account of the prices of labour:—

"General rules as to workmen's wages, which have bin a long time observed, and are at this present time; yet are

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<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth Bedingfield's mother was a Bacon of Wolverston, Suffolk, and William de Grey's uncle was a Bacon of Hessett.

<sup>3</sup> William de Grey's brother-in-law.

<sup>4</sup> William's first cousin.

<sup>5</sup> Sir John Knevett of Ashwelthorpe married in 1655, Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Bedingfield of Darham. His son, Thomas Knevett the trustee, was therefore, first cousin of Elizabeth Bedingfield.

alterable as often as either master or workman themselves shall desire itt.

To every workman any wayes substantiall y<sup>e</sup> workes by y<sup>e</sup> Daye from our Lady till Michaelmas halfe yeere, Hee is allowed per diem 12*d*. From Mich<sup>e</sup> to our Lady the winter halfe yeere but 10*d*.

Every Head Carpenter that workes by the day is to have y<sup>e</sup> yeere throughout 01*s*. 04*d*.

To a substantiall Mason and his man usually given 2*s*. 6*d*. per diem.

Allowance for threshing my corne, viz. :—

Rye by y<sup>e</sup> combe 00*s*. 06*d*.

Wheate by y<sup>e</sup> combe 00*s*. 06*d*.

Pease by ye combe 00*s*. 6*d*.

Oates by y<sup>e</sup> combe }  
Barlye by y<sup>e</sup> combe } each 00*s*. 04*d*.

For dressing up 20 comb of all sortes 01*s*. 00*d*.

There is usually given for 6 Harvest men when they take my winter corne crop to reape 2*s*. an acre, for so much as I yeerly have to cut, without meate [food] or lodging, but a dinner at their concluding and making an end of all, and halfe a barrell of small beere I brew for them, for which I'me allowed 03*s*. 06*d*. if I make it a barrell.

Chalk digging and such like, 4*d*. a load.

My sheepe of both my flocks, ewe and weather, are generally put out to y<sup>e</sup> clipping for 2*s*. y<sup>e</sup> Hundred, on such daye as I shall appointe. The workmen belonging to it are p<sup>d</sup> thus, by y<sup>e</sup> daye, viz. :—

	s.	d.	
Washers of my sheepe	..	01: 06:	each of them.
Wooll winder	..	01: 06:	
Brander of my sheepe	..	01: 06:	
Draggers and other Help <sup>m</sup> . . . }		01: 06:	at most.
according to their years, &c.			

Tyler and his man have by y<sup>e</sup> Day, winter and summer, 02*s*. 6*d*.

Glazier for himselfe, unless he be by agreem<sup>t</sup>, will have for a day's worke 02*s*. 06*d*.

In y<sup>e</sup> shoohing my Horses, t'is for my coach horses and Riding Horses 5*d.* a shoe, y<sup>e</sup> rest but 4*d.*, and a remove 1*d.*

#### Shepherd's Wages.

Halfe a Hundred Sheepe going, his Pages and all, 60*d.* [The shepherd's attendant is still called his Page. The shepherd had, in lieu of wages, the privilege of having 50 sheep of his own going with those of his master,—a custom not yet obsolete in Norfolk,—and the Page ten sheep], fourty shillings a yeere in monye, to be p<sup>d</sup> quarterly, 6 comb of Rye, 6 comb of Barlye, a marking lamb, which they usually pick out of the best in the flock, and Belweather's Fleece, which being of an uncertain weight, a stone of wooll is usuallie allowed insteade of itt.

12th June, 1683. Judge Jones' speech on the forfeiture of the London charter.

"An enquiry was directed into the validity of the City of London Charter, and on the flimsiest pretext it was pronounced by the judges to have been forfeited. Charles [II.] only restored it on condition of his having the disposal of the chief municipal offices."—Smith's *England*, 240.

25th August, 1687. Will of Elizabeth, widow of Will<sup>m</sup> de Grey, and daughter of Thomas Bedingfield of Darsham. Body to be buried in the church or chancel of Merton. Her executors were as follows:—Sir Robert Kemp, late of Antingham. [A distant relation of the de Greys.] Sir X<sup>topher</sup> Calthorpe of E. Barsham. [Her husband's grandmother's brother's descendant. He afterwards, *i.e.*, in 1704, married her daughter Hannah Maria (see p. 84). Sir Christopher's father was Edmund de Grey's executor (see p. 80).] Sir Neville Catlyn of Kirby Cane, K<sup>t</sup>. [Her uncle. He married her aunt Dorothy Bedingfield.] Sir William Rant of Thorpe Market. [He married her husband's sister.] Arthur Branthwait, Esq., of Norwich. [Her husband's cousin—he having married the daughter of Thomas Bacon, Esq., by his wife Jane de Grey.] She leaves all her lands in Suffolk, which came to her after the death of her brother Thomas Bedingfield, to her youngest son James, who was to take the name of "Bedingfield *alias* de Grey." If her eldest son dies and James succeeds to Merton, then her lands in Suffolk to go to the child that she is now great withal, if a son (see *supra*, under Copdock).



To her daughter Elizabeth, £2,500. [She died a spinster 1717.]  
 To her daughter Hannah Maria, £2,000. [She married, 1st, in 1704, Sir ~~X~~<sup>upper</sup> Calthorpe, and 2nd, Erasmus Earle.]

1687 to 1715. Account book of the executors of Mrs. Elizabeth de Grey.

#### JAMES BEDINGFIELD ALIAS DE GREY.\*

James de Grey was second son of William, by his wife Elizabeth Bedingfield. He was baptized at Merton in 1684.<sup>7</sup> He was, therefore, only three years old when his father and mother died. James, by his mother's will (*q. v.* p. 95), succeeded to her Copdock estates, and took the name, by her desire, of Bedingfield *alias* de Grey. At his coming of age the estates were legally divided between him and the Rous family (deed 21st Oct., 1706). James taking Copdock and Washbrooke. He was a fellow of Caius College, Cambridge, and afterwards [1718, see *Blomefield*] rector of Whissonset, and LL.D. He sold his estates in 1714 to his elder brother, Thomas de Grey of Merton, receiving (deed 7th Dec., 1714) an annuity of £200 per annum. In July, 1726, he made an arrangement with his creditors. In 1737 he received from his brother an annuity of £100 per annum. In 1739 he died.

1386—1685. Bundle of documents relating to a property at Dalham and Brockley, which came to William de Grey from his mother's family—the Stutevilles.

Sir Martin Stuteville, Elizabeth de Grey's father, was twice married. "His second wife was Susanna, daughter of Sir John Isham of Lamport."—*Ryes' Norf. Misc.* ii. 243—257. Elizabeth Isham, sister of Susanna, was twice married. "Her first husband was Sir Anthony Denton of Tunbridge, who died in 1622, and in the following year she married Sir Paul D'Ewes of Stowlangtoft Hall, but continued to be called Lady Denton" (*ib.* p. 243). "At Sir Martin Stuteville's death in July, 1631, the Dalham Hall estate

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\* When a new name was assumed in old times it was often found necessary to retain the former name with an *alias*, e.g., Fiennes *alias* Clinton.—*Nichols' Herald and Genealogist*, i. 24.

<sup>7</sup> James y<sup>e</sup> son of W<sup>m</sup> de Grey, Esq., and Elizabeth his wife, received private baptism April 7th, 1684; y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> private baptisme was published in y<sup>e</sup> church upon y<sup>e</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> moneth.—*Merton Register*.

passed to Thomas Stuteville, the son by the first marriage, and John Stuteville, the son by the second marriage, went to live at Stowlangtoft with his aunt, Lady Denton, then a second time a widow" (*ib.* 257.) Lady Denton<sup>6</sup> died 5th July, 1664 (*ib.* 272.) She died seized in fee of a small estate at Brockley. She left it to her nephew, John Stuteville. He is called of Stowlangtoft in a deed, 7th April, 1665, Box [ff]. He married in 1666, and went to live at Norton. He died in 1671.

18th April, 1671. Will of John Stuteville of Norton, Suff. .... Body to be buried in the chancel at Dalham .... whereas I have joyned myselfe in marriage with a prudent discrete woman, with whom I have lived comfortably now these five yeares last past .... I doe give her my new purchased lands, called Nicholls, for life .. and also my copiehold estate .. in Brockley .. and the thousand pounds which my father Milleson has not yet payed as her marriage portion .. Wife sole ex<sup>tr</sup>. Brother Cox and brother Edgar supervisors.

Thus the Brockley estate passed to Dorothy, wife of John Stuteville. Her second husband was Mr. Glemham, and when she died her Brockley property passed to their daughter, Frances Glemham. When Frances died it passed, with some copyhold at Dalham, to John Stuteville's heirs, viz., his sisters,—Elizabeth, wife of James de Grey, and Susan, wife of Thomas Stewart, Esq., of Barton Mills, and the representative of deceased Mrs. Taylor, viz., her son Thomas.

In a letter of Will<sup>m</sup> de Grey (Jan. 12, 1682, in Dalham Papers, box [g]), about selling the Dalham estate, he says, "it came to the present owners as heirs at lawe to Mr. John Stuteville, this not being disposed and given away by will, as all the rest of his concernes were."

The following are some of the entries in William de Grey's receipt books that relate to his mother as coheiress of John Stuteville: No. ii. p. 54. "By y<sup>e</sup> Death of Mr. Glemham's Daughter Frances Glemham, by his wife Mrs. Dorothy Stuteville (relict of Mr. John Stuteville), and heire to his estate, viz., y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Mr. John Stutville, He having given it by will to his then wife; and she and her daughter and only child being now dead—a copyhold estate of 30<sup>li</sup> a-year at Brockley, Suff., came to my mother, aunt Stewart, and cox. Taylor, as heires at lawe to y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Mr. John Stuteville and the 20<sup>th</sup> of this instant October a court was held, and I as deputy to my mother

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<sup>6</sup> Lady Denton's will was proved 18th August, 1664. To my nephew and niece Grey each £10. To my god-daughter Elizabeth Grey £10. To Susan Grey £50 and mourning. To William and Ann Grey each £10.—*Rye's Norf. Antiq. Misc.* ii. 273.

and aunt Stewart and cos. Taylor in person, was admitted to it. Mr. Gibbs, L<sup>d</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Manor, Mr. Mastward, steward."

Mrs. de Grey gave her share of these lands to her son William. Upon this occasion he wrote this cautious memorandum in his note book—"M. Mrs. Elis. De Grey .... hath by deed actually given to Willm. De Grey all her share of y<sup>e</sup> copyhold in Suff. which she came to as one of y<sup>e</sup> Heires of Mr. John Stuteville deceased; and has further promised she will at her Death leave him sole executor and injure him as little by Legacies and Gifts to any Friends at her Death as is possible: But for this last point I have only her word and p'mise. Dat. March 4, 1674. Will. de Grey.

William de Grey, by the will of his aunt Stewart, who died 15th November, 1684, succeeded to her third share of the lands, and by arrangement with his cousin Taylor, became possessed of all the Dalham portion, while Taylor took the Brockley portion.

William de Grey sold his lands in Dalham, in 1685, to Mr. Anthony Okely of Hartest for £490.

The following Table sets forth the rather complicated connection of the persons mentioned in the above Dalham notes:—

.. = Sir Mar- tin Stute- ville of Dalham, d. 1631.	= Sus- anna Isham, 2nd wife. See Dr. Je- sopp's paper in <i>Norfolk Ant. Misc.</i> ii. 243.	Sir John Isham, mar. Judith Lewin and had a son Jus- tinian, men- tioned at p. 75. Justinian left three daus. coh.s.*	Sir = Elis. = Sir Ant. Is- Paul Den- ham D' ton died Ewes, of 1664. mar. Tun- 1623. bridge, 2nd died hus- 1622. band.	Thos. = Sarah, Stew- 5th da. ard of of Sir Barton Edward Mills, Lewke- mar. nor of 1607. Higham How- and ard's Denham, <i>Vis. Knt., Suff. jure ux.</i> ii. 270.		
Thos. Stute- ville of Dalham, son and heir.						
Mrs. Taylor.	Elizabeth Stuteville, eventually coh. with her two sisters, died 1696.	Jas. de Grey.	John = Dor- Stute- othy, ville, da. of d. .... 1671. Mill- 1st eson. husb.	.... Glem- ham, 2nd husb.	Susan = Thos. Stute- Stew- ville, ard d. 16 of Nov. Barton 1684. Mills.	Jo- = John anna Wright Stew- of East ard. Lex- ham and Oving- ton,
Thomas Taylor, alive in 1681.	William de Grey, d. 1687.	Frances Glemham, d. before 1681.	Thomas Wright of Santon Downham, J.P., d. 1699, at. 67. (See p. 89 <i>supra</i> .)	d. 1663, son of Thos. Wright of Kilverston, High Sheriff of Norfolk. 1653.—Carthew's <i>Launditch</i> , ii. 500.		

\* Judith.—In a letter, July 23rd, 1685, to Major Edmund de Grey, Judith Stuteville seems to hold the manor of Dalham.

Elizabeth, wife of Sir Nicholas L'Estrange.

Susanna, wife of Sir Nicholas Carew.—Note by Dr. Jessopp.

The following deed and will seem to relate to the Brockley estate :—

19 Jan. 1693. Ind. between John Gibbs of Great Welnetham, Sir Richard Gipps K<sup>t</sup>,<sup>3</sup> son and heir of John and Dame Mary his now wife, of the one part, and John Meadows of Bury St Edmund's, clerk. Settlement of Brockley Manor and Great Welnetham Hall and lands lately purchased of Sir Richard Gipps, late of Horningshearth, K<sup>t</sup>, dec<sup>d</sup>; also a messuage called Copdocs in Welnetham and other lands . . . on Sir Richard Gipps and Dame Mary.

14 Jan. 170½. Will of Henry Lord Dover . . . My manor and advowson of Nowton, Suff., to Sir Rob<sup>t</sup> Davers . . . Mansion, &c., at corner of Dover Street to wife Lady Dover . . . Presentation to church of Horningsherth to Willoughby d'Ewes, 2<sup>nd</sup> son of my niece the Lady d'Ewes, in case he is a minister . . . Manor of Chevely and Chevely House, where I now dwell, manors of Lidgate Moulton, Little and Great Horningsherth, &c., to wife for life, and afterw<sup>d</sup> to Jermyn Davers, 2<sup>nd</sup> son of my niece Lady Davers . . . Ground-rent in London to trustees of Lord Jermyn's Almshouses in Rushbroke, Suff. . . . Neice Mrs. Bond . . . neice Lady d'Ewes . . . neice Mrs. Grove . . . neice Lady Spring . . . neice Mrs. Throgmorton . . . Executors—Lady Dover, Edmund Pooley, Thos. Ffolkes.

### Thomas de Grey.

Box [gg].

Thomas de Grey, eldest son of William, was baptized at Merton in 1680.<sup>4</sup> He was six years and a half old at his father's death. He appears to have lived at Merton Hall till

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<sup>3</sup> Sir Richard Gipps of Great Welnetham, Master of the Revels to Charles II., was knighted 1683. He was the writer of *Antiquitates Suffolciensis*, an Essay on Ancient Suffolk Families. He died in 1708. Sir Richard Gipps of Horningsherth was of a younger branch of the same family.—Page's *Suffolk*, p. 761.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas y<sup>e</sup> son of Will. de Grey Esq. and Elizabeth his wife was baptiz'd August 13th 1680.—*Merton Reg.*

his mother died, and then to have gone to Thorpe Market with his grandmother, who, no doubt, found Merton Hall too large for her and her grandchildren, and preferred to be near, or perhaps with, her daughter, Lady Rant.

All perishable things at Merton were sold, an inventory was taken of the furniture (see p. 102), and the house was closed, and was only used, I think, as an occasional residence for the following one hundred and fifty years. In 1787, when Lord Cadogan was tenant, there was a proposition to build a large addition in the then fashionable so-called Greek style, with pediment, &c., on the east side, leaving the old house for kitchens, offices, &c. Happily the plan was not carried out.

Thomas de Grey was of St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1698. He came of age in 1701. "He went on his travels to Rome and returned from thence in April, 1706." He was returned M.P. for Thetford in 1705. He married (marriage settlement 10th Sept. 1706) Elizabeth, daughter of William Windham, of Felbrigg, Esq. He was again returned M.P. for Thetford in 1708. He was M.P. for Norfolk in 1715, (being returned at the head of the poll), and again in the next Parliament, 1722. He was, I suppose, living at Merton from 1710 till 1719, for in that interval four of his children were baptized there. He was living at Bury St. Edmund's in 1720, and in a deed, 10th August, 1747, he is called of Bury St. Edmund's, Esq. However, as appears by his wife's receipt book (page 168) he was residing at Merton in 1723. In 1740 he was appointed a Deputy-Lieutenant for Norfolk. His wife died in 1758,<sup>5</sup> having given birth to six children. Thomas de Grey enjoyed the estates for the long period of seventy-eight years. He died in 1765 and was buried

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<sup>5</sup> Elizabeth y<sup>e</sup> wife of T. de Grey, Esq. was buried May y<sup>e</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> 1758.—*Merton Register*.

at Merton,<sup>6</sup> outside the east wall of the chancel, and by the side of his wife, having attained to the age of eighty-six years.

Thomas de Grey sold the Bunwell and Beechamwell estates and a property at Stowlangtoft. Bunwell had been in his family about four hundred years. Blomefield says "that in June, 1721, there was an Act of Parliament for discharging several estates in Norf. and Suff. from the uses contained in the Marriage Settlement of Thos. de Grey, Esq., and for settling other estates in the said counties to the same uses."

#### THE SIX CHILDREN OF THOMAS DE GREY.

ELIZABETH was baptized at St. Ann's, London, November, 1707. She married the Rev. Edward Chamberlain (see p. 108).

WILLIAM, baptized at Merton, 1710,<sup>7</sup> buried there 1718.<sup>8</sup>

CATHERINE<sup>9</sup> (see pp. 108, 109).

THOMAS, son and heir (see p. 105).

WILLIAM, first Lord Walsingham (see p. 109).

CHARLOTTE, buried at Merton 1727.<sup>1</sup>

11th October, 1678. Manor of Cranwich. First court of John Knyvit, arm.

26th August, 1691. Same manor. Admission of Thomas de Grey to lands late of his great-uncle, Major Edmund de Grey, who died in 1690.

9th September, 1706. Marriage settlement between Thomas de Grey of Merton, Esq., and Elizabeth, one of the daughters of William Windham, late of Felbrigge, Esq., deceased, and

<sup>6</sup> Thomas de Grey, Esq. was buried December 18, 1765.—*Merton Reg.*

<sup>7</sup> William ye son of Thomas de Grey, Esq., and Elizabeth his wife, was borne and baptized privately September 14th, 1710.—*Id.*

<sup>8</sup> William the son of Thomas de Grey, Esq., was buryed Febr. 15th, 1717-18.—*Id.*

<sup>9</sup> Catherine the daughter of Thomas de Grey, Esq., and Elizabeth his wife, was baptized April 26th, 1713.—*Id.*

<sup>1</sup> Charlotte ye daughter of Thomas de Grey, Esq., was buryed August 8th, 1727.—*Id.*

Katherine his wife. Portion £4500; the estates settled on the heirs male.

30th June, 1689. Inventory of the furniture at Merton Hall. William de Grey and his wife Elizabeth both died (as stated above) in 1687, leaving their eldest son only six years and a half old, and in the guardianship of his grandmother, Elizabeth [Stuteville]. The grandmother, who resided at Thorpe Market, ordered, by deed 30th June, 4th James II. (1688), and carrying out the will of Elizabeth [Bedingfield] the boy's mother, everything at Merton Hall that was liable to waste and decay to be sold, including the coach-horses and cattle, and an inventory of the furniture to be made. I give some of the more noteworthy items in this inventory, showing some of the things that helped to make up the furnishing of a country house of the seventeenth century:—

*Entry.* One halfe pike and a casting net.

*Larder.* One meat powdering tubb ["Flesh and fish powdered is better than in summer."—Sir T. Elyot.]

*Boulting Room.* One boulder, one minging trough.

*Store-house.* One pair of mustard quernes.

*Kitchen.* Two andirons, 3 hakes (still so called) [Eke or hook—used for suspending a pot over the fire.] One pure [poker], 3 speets [spits].

*Dairy.* 3 cheese breads. [Cheese brede—stand for milk bowl.]

*Washing House.* Two bucking tubs [washing tub], one brandlett [tripod stand].

*Clossett over the Staircase.* One cypress chest, the old coloures, one buffe coate and a jerkin.

*Clossett over the Porch.* Two paire of pillow beares (see p. 72, *supra.*) a hugoback towell; in the trunk there, an embroidered belt, a yellow satten blankett, one christening blankett, one child's baskett and cushion, a housell [housings], another embroidered belt; in a deale box, the saddle, holsters, pistolls, and bridle.

*The Painted Chamber.* A livery bedstead.

*The Best Chamber.* The hangings (probably tapestry.)

*The Great Dining Room.* One bedstead, pair of andirons, the hangings.

*The Greene Chamber.* One bedstead natt [mat—the sacking which was tightened by a cord.]

*The Stairs Case.* Nynetenn pictures.

*The Parlor.* A paire of drawers with scales and gold weights, a small keep [basket?], 2 mazarene dishes [brass?], a raspe [the steel of a tinder box], pair of andirons, choquolett mill, eleven pictures.

*The Old Maior's Chamber.*—[Probably Major Edmund de Grey, great-uncle of the boy Thomas, now seventy-one years old. He died 1690 and left his lands to his “dear nephew Thos. de Grey.”]

*Still-house.* A limbeck [alembic—distilling vessel.]

The last room or building mentioned in the above inventory, the still-house, was an important part of a mediæval country house. Thomas de Grey, in whose childhood this inventory was taken, married Elizabeth Windham, who filled a thick folio, of which the date must be about 1710—20, with receipts and prescriptions, most of which were made up by distillation at home. Nearly all were composed in great measure of herbs; in one, the Lady Hewit's water (p. 1) fifty-nine herbs were used, as well as bezoar [a calculous animal concretion.—*Collins*], coral, pearls, amber, and gold; in another, “the Green Oyntment” (p. 197) called “the choycest thing in this book,” there were thirty-seven ingredients, three months being taken to prepare it. A palsy water (p. 3) is made from twenty-nine different herbs and spices, five gallons and a half of sack, and three quarts of brandy, and takes eleven weeks to perfect.

Mrs. de Grey evidently does not believe in the efficacy of some of her receipts. Of the drawing out a thorn by laying on it a piece of snake's skin (p. 321) she remarks that “it must be by much faith”; of the “pounded bristles of a hedgehog taken in a little bear for a month,” which she calls “a whimsical receipt out of my mother's book, to content people at least, if you cannot cure them,” she says, “in that time 'tis likely the Person woud be well without a Hedge Hog.” Of the cure of spitting blood by wearing blood stones, she says, “I have no faith in it, but it certainly does



this service, that common people have an opinion of such specifics or charms . . . I have a Loadstone has been sent for many miles off, and many Persons have believed that if they left it off the Bleeding returned."

Throughout the book the true names are given to things that, in these days, are never mentioned except by a euphemism—a spade is called a spade.

Mrs. de Grey appears to have been a very sensible woman. After some general directions she adds this caution (p. 188), "Their is no rules without their exceptions, but there necessary cautions for people to use when there is no phyzician to direct. To those who can afford, it is a very great folly to pretend to doctor ones self or ones friend, and most find ill effects who pretend to it. Apothecarys worse than women." And (p. 71), "'tis odd to see how most agree in the functions of the clergy, how ready every body is to consult a lawyer, but where health and life is concerned, their every woman is to quack, and when their wisdoms are puzzled, then the next bold ignorant apothecary goes near to destroy you. I find it even cheaper to write to a doctor the cases of the servants . . . than it is to send for an apothecary at 2s. 6d. a journey, and the vast bills they make for physick," &c.

Sir Benjamin Wrench is very often mentioned in this book. He was sent for to Merton sometimes. He was an eminent physician at Norwich. Mr. Fitch tells me that he lived in St. Andrew's Parish, in Little London Street, and that his house stood in a court, well-known as Sir Benjamin Wrenche's Court. It was entered by a fine gateway, now in Mr. Colman's grounds at Corton. Etchings were made of the gateway and court before they were destroyed to make room for the Corn Hall. Sir Benjamin died in 1747.

Philologists will like to have noted from this book the common use of the following words:—Lute, to cover close; sophisticate, to adulterate; impostumated, tumoured; pugil, a handful; alembic, still or distilling vessel for the fire; milk meats, a milk diet; kibes, chilblains.

## Thomas de Grey.

Box [i].

Thomas de Grey, eldest son and heir of his father Thomas, was baptized at Merton in 1717.<sup>2</sup> He was a fellow commoner of Christ College, Cambridge. He was, in 1764, Colonel of the Eastern Battalion of the Norfolk Militia, "having marched as captain with that corps to Portsmouth in 1759, when England was threatened with invasion."—*Gentleman's Magazine*, July, 1825. In 1764, and again in 1768, he was M.P. for Norfolk. He represented Norfolk for ten years, after which "he voluntarily declined offering himself as a candidate."

Thomas de Grey, who lived as a young man at Bury St. Edmund's with his father, seems to have been acquainted with a family named Fisher living in the same town. Some time after Mr. Fisher's death, which took place on 3rd October, 1738, Mr. de Grey, junr., managed the estate, a considerable one, of the widow, who was left with three daughters; the two elder daughters, Miss Anne and Miss Molly as they were called, died in 1741 and 1742, and in 1746 Thomas de Grey, being then twenty-nine, married the then only child and heiress, Elizabeth, called Betsey, she being then sixteen years old, and making the fifth Elizabeth who in succession had become wives to the owners of Merton. After his marriage he went, I suppose, to live at Merton, for in a deed, 10th August, 1747, he is called Thomas de Grey the younger of Merton, Esq. There are portraits at Merton Hall of Mr. and Mrs. Fisher, and of Anne and Mary their daughters.

9th August, 1746. (In box [e] 3), attested copy of

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<sup>2</sup> Thomas the son of Thomas de Grey, Esq., and Elizabeth his wife, was baptized September 29th, 1717.—*Merton Register*.

marriage settlement of Thomas de Grey with Elizabeth, daughter of Ann Fisher, widow of Samuel Fisher, Esquire, of Bury St. Edmund's. Elizabeth, sixteen years old, entitled to £19,000 and more, personally; £10,000 to be paid to discharge divers mortgages on the Merton estate; Thomas de Grey to receive the residue except £4,000, £700 a year settled security; Merton and Bury Hall, Copdock, Washbrooke, and Cornerd manors and lands, advowsons of Merton, Copdock, and Washbrooke, and farm in Thompson; £300 a year pin-money to be paid quarterly in the south porch of Merton church. Provision to settle Miss Fisher's real estate when she came of age to Thomas de Grey for his life, then to Elizabeth his wife for her life, then to their children, then to the heirs of Elizabeth.

May 2nd, 1751. Case for counsel's opinion. Elizabeth Fisher, possessed of a personal estate, and real estate in fee, and being of about the age of sixteen years, intermarried in 1746 with Thomas de Grey, Esq., and died 18th January, 1750, under age and without having had issue, leaving her husband surviving heir to her personal estate, and Mrs. Sparke, wife of Ezekiel Sparke, gent., her heir-at-law. Upon the marriage no settlement was made of her real estate. [The real estate was worth £989 per annum, and passed at Mrs. de Grey's death to Mrs. Sparke.]

Q. Are the tenants obliged to pay any rents for their lands from Michaelmas last to the 18th January last, when Mrs. de Grey died, and to whom.

I am of opinion that none of the tenants can be obliged to pay any rent to Mrs. Sparkes . . . . nor can the husband compel the payment . . . . though the rents must be absolutely lost.

Mrs. de Grey's estate was at Tuddenham near Mildenhall, and there she was buried.

Tuddenham Register, Anno 1750. Elizabeth, the wife

of Thomas Degrey, Esq., of Martin Hall in y<sup>e</sup> c<sup>y</sup> of Suffolk, buried January 25th. "There is a tomb in the churchyard with the name of Elizabeth de Grey, died 1750, aged 26 [20]. The family of Fisher possessed one of the manors in this parish, which was bought by the Rev. Mr. Rogers, Rector of Lackford, and is now the property of the Marquis of Bristol."—Letter from Rev. E. Sparke, Rector of Tuddenham.

Thomas de Grey survived his wife thirty-one years. He was very tall and thin, and was called "long Tom." "He was held in universal estimation during his life, for his charity and goodness of heart; and his memory is now revered by all the neighbourhood."—*Gentleman's Magazine*, July, 1825. His portrait is engraved and was published among those of the Norfolk worthies. He was buried in 1781,<sup>3</sup> outside the east wall of the chancel at Merton, and, having no legitimate children, was succeeded by his nephew Thomas, only son of William first Lord Walsingham.

Thomas de Grey bore the de Grey arms: Barry of six ar. and az., with three torteaux in chief.

20 Sept., 1780. The will and codicils of Thos. de Grey, elder brother of the first Lord Walsingham. His nephew Thomas to be his executor in case of his brother's death (which took place one month before his own.) He gives to his brother all the wood, all the water, all the houses, all the lands, all the furniture, and personal effects .... "I act upon this principle, not to leave the family estate in a worse condition than I found it .... it was £1565 per ann.... I leave it at more than £2000 per ann.... legacies to four godchildren, 20*li*. each .... to the curate of Merton, who buries me, 20*li*. as soon as the service is performed .... to each servant one year's wages.

..... Injunction affixed May 27th, 1781, (ten days after his

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<sup>3</sup> "Thomas de Grey, esq., elder brother of the above Baron Walsingham was buried June 28, 1781."—*Merton Register*.

brother Lord Walsingham's death). I bind my nephew Lord Walsingham to the performance of this my will, by his honor as a Peer of the Realm, and by no other tie or title whatsoever, that word being held so sacred is far above all the formalities of law, and, relying on that, I die confident and content.—Thomas de Grey. Will proved 8th August, 1781.

10 Nov., 1738. Probate of the will of Mr. Samuel Fisher, made 27th April, 1737. He leaves to his wife Ann an estate to the value of £316 a year and his dwelling-house in Bury St. Edmund's. After her death the whole estates to be divided between his three daughters, Anne, Mary, and Elizabeth, who are to have £5000 apiece upon their marriage or coming of age; residue to daughters. Wife Ann, executrix. William ffolkes, Esq., and cousin William Cropley, both of London, supervisors.

Mr. Fisher's father and mother were buried in the chancel of St. Mary's, Bury St. Edmund's. Tymm's *St. Mary's* has, "Sam<sup>l</sup> Fisher, gent., died June 29th, 1727, aged 70. Anne his wife died July 31st, 1731, aged 77. Arms: on a chief a dolphin embowed, impaling ermine on a chief three owls. Crest: on an esquire's helmet, on a wreath, a dolphin." Papworth has, "on a chief gules three oars argent."—Cropley of London, and Soham in Cambridgeshire, 1730.

6th May, 1734. Marriage settlement between Edmund Chamberlayn, rector of Great Cressingham, and Elizabeth D'Grey, spinster, sister of Thomas de Grey of Merton, Esq., and of William, first Lord Walsingham. Joseph Ash of Swittenham, Middlesex, Esq., late called Joseph Wyndham, Esq., and John Watson of Hingham, clerk, trustees. The marriage shortly to be solemnized.<sup>4</sup> Elizabeth's portion, £2000. [Of the issue of this marriage, one daughter, Charlotte, married Dr. Roberts, Provost of Eton, and one son, Thomas, became Vice-Provost of Eton and Rector of Warplesden.] The Rev. Edward Chamberlain died in 1751. His wife in 1781. She was buried at Great Cressingham.

13th November 1742. The will of Hardwick Sewell.

There is a tradition that a Miss de Grey was engaged to Hardwick Sewell, Esq., whose monument is in Merton chancel, and whose portrait, as tradition

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<sup>4</sup> Edward Chamberlain, clerk, and Elizabeth De Grey, singlewoman, were married (by John Watson of Hingham) June y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>d</sup>, 1734.—*Merton Register*.

says, (by one of the Kneller school) is at Merton Hall. He is represented in a blue coat and red cloak. The lady could only have been Catherine, sister of Mrs. Chamberlain, who had previously married. The inscription on the monument was perhaps composed by Miss de Grey. A note in the handwriting of Archdeacon de Grey says "Mr. Sewell (who I believe was to have married Mrs. C. de Grey)."

The will was made eleven days before Mr. Sewell's death. Thos. de Grey, jun., of Merton, and James Broome of Pebmarsh, clerk, executors. He leaves his estates chiefly to his heir Hardwick Sewell Richardson. A gold ring value £2 to Thomas de Grey the elder, Elizabeth his wife, Thomas de Grey the younger, William de Grey of the Middle Temple, Katherine de Grey, the Rev. Mr. Chamberlayne, Elizabeth his wife, and others. To all the servants at Merton Hall one guinea apiece. There is no doubt that Hardwick Sewell died of smallpox at Merton Hall, but there is nothing in his will specially relating to his espousal.

Hardwick Sewell Esq<sup>r</sup> was buried November y<sup>e</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> 1742. His grave is just outside the Chancel at the east end.—*Merton Register*.

Mrs. Catherine de Grey buried July 3, 1777 [aged 64.] Her grave is just outside the Chancel at the east end.—*Id*.

Inscription on Hardwick Sewell's monument against the north wall of Merton chancel. "Near this place are interred the remains of Hardwick Sewell Esquire of Henney in the County of Essex, whose easy temper and modest disposition agreed not with the tumults of a public life, nor courted the empty honours of popular applause, the influence of his virtues was confined to a more contracted, tho' not less noble sphere. He wish't not to be great, but good. By principle religious, tender to relations, constant in his friendships, humane, generous, and benevolent; after having suffer'd the severest torments that the cruellest distemper could inflict, he dyed of the Small Pox, on the 24th day of November 1742 in the 27th year of his age." The arms on the monument are, On a bend three martlets.

## William, first Lord Malsingham.

Box [h].

William de Grey was younger brother and heir apparent of Thomas de Grey of Merton. He attained a high legal position, and raised his family considerably both in dignity and fortune.

His parents, having lost their eldest son William, who died in 1718 at the age of eight years, called their third son by the same name. "William y<sup>e</sup> son of Thomas de Grey, Esq. and Elizabeth his wife was borne July 7<sup>th</sup> and Baptized August 14<sup>th</sup> 1719."—*Merton Register*.

William de Grey was educated at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and was brought up to the Law. In 1745 he is described as of Norfolk Street, London. He married, in the chapel belonging to Somerset House, Nov. 12th, 1743 (?), Mary, daughter of William Cowper, of the Park, near Hertford. This William was first cousin of the Poet Cowper. William de Grey had three children:—

WILLIAM, born and died 1745, buried at St. Clement Danes, London.—Edmondson's *Baronagium*.

CHARLOTTE, married June 16th, 1769, Joseph Windham, of Earsham, Esq., son of John Windham Bowyer, Esq., and Mary, his wife, and nephew and heir of William Windham, of Earsham, Esq. Joseph Windham died 21st September, 1810, aged 71. He was a Fellow of the Royal Antiquarian and Dilettanti Society (see printed Memoir). Charlotte died 27th November, 1827, aged eighty-one. There are long and interesting inscriptions on their monuments in Earsham Church. They left no children, and the Norfolk estates of Joseph Windham passed to his sister and heir, Anne, the wife of Sir William Smijth, of Hill Hall, Essex, Bart.

THOMAS, afterwards second Lord Walsingham, was born July 14th, 1748. He married Augusta Georgina, only daughter of Sir William Irby, afterwards first Lord Boston, (marriage settlement dated 22nd April, 1772), and through this match his descendants can claim Royal descent. He was specially admitted to the Middle Temple 24th August, 1764. He was appointed Groom of the Bedchamber 1771; M.P. for Tamworth 1777; Under-Secretary of State, American Department, 1778; M.P. for Lostwithiel 1780, which he continued to be till he became a Peer. He was a Lord of Trade and Plantations (Colonies) and joint Postmaster General. He was Chairman of Committees in the House of Lords. By Act of Parliament, 10th October, 1814, there

was granted a pension to Thomas, second Lord Walsingham, "who has discharged the weighty and important duties of Chairman of Committees of the House of Lords for these twenty years last past," of £2000 per annum; afterwards, 27th July, 1794, changed into a pension for the use of his two sons, and the survivor of them. Lord Walsingham died in 1818, leaving, besides his sons George and Thomas, three daughters, to the youngest of whom, Georgina, King George III. was by his own desire Godfather in 1773, as he had been also to her mother. Lord Walsingham's MSS. and correspondence are preserved in the Merton muniment-room, and fill six large boxes.

In 1751 William de Grey is called of Boswell Court, Middlesex. He was appointed King's Counsel, January 30th, 1738; Solicitor General, December 16th, 1764; Attorney General, August 6th, 1766; M.P., 1761, 1768, and 1770. He was member for Newport in 1768, and in that year he appears to have been offered by Lord Townshend the borough of Tamworth. He was knighted and made Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, January 26th, 1771. An account for rings shows that he had to give on his appointment, two hundred and fifty-nine rings, from "their Majestys" down to attorneys.

The following is the letter from Lord North [Prime Minister after the resignation of the Duke of Grafton in 1770] announcing the appointment.

Dear Sir,

Downing Street, Monday Night.

Lord Chief Justice Wilmot having this evening resigned his office, I am commanded by His Majesty to inform you that he has pitched upon you for his successor. You will know better than I do the steps that are proper to take upon this occasion; as Lord Chief Justice Wilmot has actually resign'd it will be right to proceed in them with all convenient speed. I am with great truth, Dear Sir,

Your most faithful

humble servant,

North.



A note in the handwriting of Sir William's son states that Sir William had solicited the post of Solicitor to the Excise, which Lord Camden also solicited. "If they had obtained it they would have quitted the practise of the profession, and have lost their future honours, emoluments, and peerages—whatever is, is best."—*Walsingham*, 1781. Sir William de Grey lived at a house called Monks Frith in East Barnet about 1774.

Sir William de Grey's health having failed, he resigned the office of Chief Justice, and on his resignation was created Baron Walsingham, his patent of appointment bearing date October 17th, 1780.—*Gentleman's Magazine*, July, 1825. He was, 17th July, 20th George III. (1780), awarded a pension of £2,400 a year. He had been appointed Comptroller of First Fruits and Tenths, 8th April, 1st George III. (1761), but this appointment was revoked 8th July, 8th George III. (1768) in favour of his son, Thomas de Grey, jun.

Sir William de Grey left a statement of his earnings, from which we may see how rapidly he rose in his profession. In 1743, when he was twenty-four years old, he earned £125; in 1767 his accounts show that he made £6,916. He bought land to the then value of £46,700; but though he added so largely to the Merton estate, to which he would naturally expect to succeed, his elder brother having no children and having contracted no second marriage, Sir William de Grey never became owner of Merton, as he died one month before his brother.

The Right Honorable William de Grey, Baron Walsingham, buried May 17th, 1781.—*Merton Register*. He died the 9th May. He was buried in the then new and large vault, occupying three-quarters of the area of Merton chancel, for the making of which vault the graves of all his ancestors, who had not slabs over their remains, appear to have been destroyed.

7th March, 1780. The will of William, first Lord Walsingham, is written on a sheet of note paper. He calls himself Sir William de Grey, not being yet created a peer. He gives legacies to his son's wife, his daughter Windham, and his son-in-law Joseph Windham . . . to my dear wife for her life my house in London, . . . plate, linen, and furniture, absolutely, and certain bequests in addition to her jointure . . . all the rest of my real and personal estate to my son, his heirs, and executors absolutely.

Sir William de Grey, before his elevation to the peerage, bore for arms: Barry of six ar. and az. in chief three torteaux. He afterwards bore, as did his descendants, the same arms, with three annulets in chief, as did at least one of his ancestors, as appears in the *Visitation of Harvey, Clarencieux*, in 1567.

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HAVING now brought this report of the Merton Muniments down to a time that may fairly be called modern, I take my leave of it, only expressing a hope that these manuscripts, in my account of them, may afford as much pleasure to the antiquary to read, as they have afforded to me to arrange and describe; and if my report proves to be, as I hope it may, interesting to many in Norfolk, giving them, as it does, an outline of the history, before for the most part unknown, of an old family belonging to their county, their thanks and mine are due, first to Lord Walsingham, who, by giving me unrestricted access to his muniment-room, has enabled me to do what otherwise would have been impossible; and secondly to the liberal editor of this *Miscellany*, upon whose pages I have, I fear, trespassed far more than he expected I should do, when he did me the honour to ask me for a paper on the subject.

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THE REV. GEORGE CRABBE, B.A., author of the preceding pages, died at Merton Rectory, in the 34th year of his incumbency, on August 9th, 1884, after a short but severe illness, though his health had been delicate during many preceding years. He was the eldest son of the Rev. George Crabbe,

Rector of Bredfield, near Ipswich, by his wife Caroline, daughter of Thomas Timbrell of Trowbridge, Wilts, and grandson, as well as direct representative, of his namesake, the well-known poet, rector of the last-named parish, where there is a monument in the church to his memory. Mr. Crabbe was born 1st June, 1819, at Pucklechurch in Gloucestershire, of which his father was at that time serving the curacy, and having received his earliest education at Bristol, was removed to the Grammar School at Bury St. Edmund's, and became afterwards a Member of Queen's College, Cambridge. Having been curate for five years to the Hon. and Rev. Frederick De Grey at Copdock, Suffolk, he has preferred to the small living of Merton, by the late Lord Walsingham, in April, 1861. He married his first cousin, Emily Louisa, one of the daughters of the Rev. John Crabbe, Rector of Glemham, Suffolk, (who had married the daughter of William Crowfoot, Esq., of Beccles), by Elizabeth Bohun his wife, but was left a widower, with two youthful daughters, after a very few years of wedded life. His health having given way about the year 1866, he had recourse to the mild climate of the Riviera, and passed many succeeding winters away from home at Mentone, Bournemouth, and Hastings. He had at different times, with a view both to health and information, visited Rome, Madrid, and other parts of the continent, and had only recently returned from Northern Italy with his surviving daughter, the constant companion of his later excursions, when he became seriously unwell, but rallied, and was again occupied about his usual pursuits, when a relapse occurred, which ended fatally.

The foregoing lines contain the bare outline of a life, but a few words must be added, in order to indicate what manner of man he was, who led it. Their writer knew him intimately, through an uninterrupted intercourse extending over many years, and had opportunities, perhaps enjoyed by few, of forming a just estimate of his qualities. He is sensible, notwithstanding, of a difficulty in doing justice to them, arising out of the simple unaffected naturalness of disposition, by which his late friend was distinguished. A career, diversified by few striking incidents, offers comparatively little for a biographical notice, and yet it is one over which the memory of survivors frequently lingers with the most affectionate regret. Mr. Crabbe's was a character entirely free from all self-seeking and self-assertion, modest and self-contained in itself, but which invited and, it might be said, compelled the esteem and love of others. To have discharged the duties of his calling with unobtrusive fidelity, to have left behind him a blameless reputation, to have been warm in his friendships, whilst making many friends and leaving no enemy, would of themselves constitute no unmeet titles to commendation. But Mr. Crabbe was more than this. He possessed a cultivated taste, taking pleasure in painting, architecture, and the fine arts generally; whilst, during the last few years of his life, a new source of interest was opened to him in those archæological enquiries, which access to the muniment-room at Merton Hall brought within his reach, and the results of which have, in part, appeared in this journal.

F. C. CASS.

*Monken Hadley Rectory,  
Barnet.*

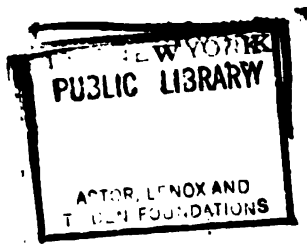
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And he be cum in good man de no zed  
 in bedde bedde and almoste bode  
 and fownd god in othe wyse  
 and fownd and fownd in othe fownd  
 fownd fownd the othe fownd  
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NOTES  
ON  
*A Common-place Book of the Fifteenth Century,*  
WITH A  
*Religious Play of Abraham & Isaac,*  
BY  
LUCY TOULMIN SMITH.

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A SMALL paper manuscript volume was lately put into my hands by Dr. G. H. Kingsley, who found it while turning over the interesting papers connected with the manor of Brome, in the muniment-room attached to the land-agent's office of that place. The owners, Sir E. and Lady Caroline Kerrison, having kindly given free permission to make what use I pleased of the manuscript, I now give a short account of the volume, with a few extracts, believing that they will be welcome in a Norfolk collection. Brome Hall and Brome Manor are, it is true, in Suffolk; there is, however, no mention of Brome in the volume; the local entries chiefly relate to Stuston (or Sturston), a neighbouring Suffolk village, and to Scole, which lies in Norfolk, the shire boundary passing along the river Waveney and between these parishes. Brome Hall was bought by the grandfather of the present owner, Sir Edward Kerrison, Bart., from the Cornwallis family, in whose possession it had



been since early in the fifteenth century. It is not clear how this book, which chiefly concerns Stuston, came into the Brome muniment-room: perhaps when the rights connected with the common and church of Stuston became vested in the neighbouring lord, which was about A.D. 1561.<sup>1</sup> Robert Melton of the accounts was a Stuston man: Mistress Froxmer was a daughter of the Cornwallis family, and Melton, as shown hereafter, was probably steward of the Cornwallis property and the adviser of the family. He wanted to put down his notes of manorial dues and other matters relating to Stuston leet and court baron law, and finding this volume only half filled with poetry used it for his purpose.

The book is paper, of eighty-one leaves, eight inches long by five-and-a-half wide, with a much-worn parchment cover and flap, stitched to the quires with a piece of cowhide at the back. The contents are of three classes: (1) poems, chiefly of a religious character, for which the volume was apparently originally intended, written in a neat hand of the second half of the fifteenth century, occupy about half the pages; (2) documents of territorial law entered for domestic use on the manor, partly in the same hand, partly in one somewhat later; and (3) a few private accounts on the blank leaves between, which have been utilized for this purpose. The earliest of these accounts is dated from 15th to 19th Henry VII., the latest 23rd Henry VII. A selection from each of these classes is given here, together with a list of the whole.

The first three leaves are filled with short pieces or fragments, a prelude to the longer religious poems. The first fac-simile represents the back of the first leaf, containing the curious old puzzles printed on pp. 147, 148. The second fac-simile is of the page which concludes the first

<sup>1</sup> See A. Page's *Supplement to the Suffolk Traveller*, p. 486.

of the longer poems, *Ypotis*, a curious religious catechism or dialogue between the Emperor Adrian and Christ under the form of a child. Hence the appropriate design of some of the sacred signs, among which it is unusual to find the heart introduced. The most interesting of the poems is the play of *Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac*, which differs from others yet known, and which will be more fully treated further on. There is nothing to indicate, unfortunately, whether the play was performed in the splendid old manor-hall at Brome, or, may be, in the neighbouring town of Diss, where the two gilds of St. Nicholas and Corpus Christi may possibly one or both have undertaken to set it forth (for friendly links between Stuston and Diss see after, pp. 156, 157). Imagination has room to speculate alike on the place and the actual actors in the performance, who probably did not differ greatly in their acquirements from those of contemporary plays in other parts of England, such as at Coventry, Chester, and York. A single play, requiring but a small body of players, might be more easily set forth in the rural towns of the country-side of East Anglia than the large collections, which required the combined efforts of the craftsmen in the greater midland cities. It is, however, a fact that this is the first specimen of a mediæval religious play from this part of England.

Of the second class, the articles of a court leet and court baron are of course well known; the copies of deeds and grants do not appear to be connected with names or places in the neighbourhood, but may be entered as forms or models; whether genuine charters or not they do not offer any special interest. But the leaves on which are written the "felson booke," the "boke for the taske," and the church "duties," all giving lists of monies due in respect of certain tenements in Stuston, are of the interest which attaches to all local details and accounts belonging to old

manors and what may be called domestic law. "Felson" refers to a local custom by which certain tenants paid for the right of commoning on the commons of East and West Stuston; by the law of England tenants of the manor itself should have free right of common. These lists, therefore, may refer either to strangers, i.e., non-dwellers, admitted to the common, who paid for the privilege, or to some extra privileges allowed to inhabitants upon payment. The names of the Prioress of Flixton, and the town of Diss, point to the first explanation, while, on the other hand, a comparison of the other names with those in the lists for the "Taske" and the "Church Duties" show that they are those of men belonging to Stuston. The customs of common-right were various, as is well known. I must leave the explanation to those better versed in local usage. The meaning of the word *felson* itself is obscure. It seems to be of Danish or Anglo-Saxon origin, from the root *feil*, German *foele*, Anglo-Saxon vendible, that which is to be bought; the second syllable being another form of *sam* or *some*, like as in jetsam, flotsam. *Jetson* and *flotson* are the Norfolk forms of these law-words; see the Glossary at the end of Blomefield's *Norfolk*. *Felson* appears to be another word on the same model.

The assessment list of the "taske" (written in a different and somewhat later hand) shows a much higher rate of payment, even allowing for twenty or thirty years' difference in date. This "taske" (or tax) was probably the customary composition of the tenants for the agricultural service or socage due by feudal tenure to the lord of the manor; and here again we find that the manor of Stuston had certainly three "foreigners" holding there, the town of Diss and two manors, How Margaretts and Facons; to the church dues "the playse longyng to the Toune of Disse" also has to pay its quota. The "duties belonging to the church," probably established by ancient custom, were of

three kinds, plow-shot (or plough-scot), sometimes called plow-alsms (*Mon. Angl.* i. p. 256) which was a penny paid for every plow-land or hide (carucate); a portion for curtilage and a portion for a lock or locks. These sums usually come together for one tenant (in some cases only two of the charges are named), and it will be observed that the money paid for a "lock" was a halfpenny farthing, that for a plow-land one penny, and that for a curtilage one halfpenny. "Lock" or loke is a Norfolk word for a broad lane or way, as across a common or waste; these are numerous in some parts, and being clear and turfy are often let as pasture. Thus, the holders were assessed to the church on the curtilage or land immediately round the tenement, and the arable land according to measure, each separately. No dates are given with any of these felson, task, or church lists, which must have been made as memoranda for the guidance of the manorial officers.

Lastly, the accounts of Robert Melton, to whom this book probably belonged when he wrote them in its blank leaves, are one more contribution to our knowledge of prices in a part of the country whose chief wealth lay in its barley crops. Melton was, perhaps, a well-to-do farmer. He was evidently a man of some position and property, from the fact that several tenements are mentioned under his name as liable to felson, task, and church dues. He was evidently also a trusted friend, perhaps the steward of the Cornwallis family, for he was co-executor with William and Robert Cornwallis to their eldest brother John, who died in 1506, (lord of the manors of Brome, Stuston, Okely, and Thranston).<sup>2</sup> The only sister of these brothers, Catherine Cornwallis, married Francis Froxmer, Esq., and had a daughter Elizabeth, to whom John Cornwallis left

<sup>2</sup> See the will of John Cornwallis at length in Collins' *Peerage*, 1812, vol. ii. p. 639.

ten pounds, "and to her sustenance" 56s. 8d. This Catherine Froxmer must be the Mastras Froxmer of Robert Melton's accounts of 1507-8, and it is not improbable that the transactions there recorded may have been in part a carrying out of his executorship with regard to her daughter. The agreement with Roger Page of Scole (p. 167) shows the importance of his dealings, which besides extended to Dias in Norfolk, Eye in Suffolk, and many other neighbouring places. The local measures, the coomb of "Chapman's mett," and the bushel of "Harleston's mett," should be noted in this curious little document.

The food-stuffs bought and sold in the accounts are wheat, barley, mesclin, malt, oats, and pease; the two latter only occur once. Mesclin is mixed corn, usually wheat and rye: the word appears to be French in origin—*mesclaigne*, blé meteil, *Ducange*; *mesclé*, masslin, wheat and rye mingled, *Cotgrave*; *meslin*, *maslin*, *Bailey*. It is still known in the two latter forms as a kind of furmenty or sweet dish made from mixed corn, and forty years ago maslin bread was much relished on good Yorkshire tables. The mixed corn appears to have been sown and threshed together: see Tusser, *Februarie Husbandrie*, sta. 21, and *Cotgrave* s.v. *Tramois*. *Dragge* or *dredge* was another name for mixed corn, oats and barley or oats and wheat; perhaps the same also as mesclin. See for various forms of the words, and references, *Promptorium Parvulorum*, Camden Soc. s.v. *Mestlyone*, and *Dragge*. Mr. Thorold Rogers, in his *History of Prices*, mentions *drageum*, but does not appear to understand what it was.

The interesting little account on fos. 62 v. 63 (p. 161) is written in a hand closely resembling Melton's, but if the writer were indeed he, "my brother William Kempe" must have been his wife's brother. It appears somewhat improbable that he should have paid for the board of his brother-in-law two years, and for his dress ("a gown for

my brother William"). We may rather suppose that "William" was a younger brother, who, together with their mother, looked to the writer as holding the purse in this Kempe family. Melton or Kempe, it is evident that the Stuston gentry went to Norwich when they wanted to buy a bonnet of velvet, a frontlet of satin lined with velvet, or the materials for a gown of tawny cloth.

The following is an account of the contents of the manuscript, with some references. An asterisk is prefixed to the items now printed.

Fo. 1. A poem in twenty-six lines on the old saying "measure is treasure," beginning "Man in merthe hath meser in mynde." Also four lines of common sayings.

\* Fo. 1 v°. *Cipher puzzles and sayings*. See fac-simile and pp. 147, 148.

\* Fos. 2—3 r°. *Lines on casting the dice*. See pp. 149—152.

Fos. 5—14 v°. *Adrian and Ypotis* (Epotis). Two versions are printed (from the Vernon MS. at Oxford, and Cott. Calig. A ii. in British Museum) by Dr. C. Horstmann in *Altenglischer Legenden* (neue folge, 1881, Heilbronn) pp. 341, 511. The present MS. is most like the copy of the second version found in Ashmol. MS. 61, which varies slightly from the Cottonian.

\* Fos. 15—22. *Play of Abraham and Isaac*. (pp. 127—146).

Fos. 23—26 v°. *The Fifteen Signs of Doom*. Several versions of this poem occur in different MSS., some of which have been printed, as in the *Cursor Mundi*, (Early English Text Society, 1877) vol. iv. pp. 1283—1298; Mätzner, *Altenglische Sprachproben*, Berlin, 1867, p. 120. See also the essay on this legend by Georg Nölle, Halle, 1879.

\* Fo. 27. *Accounts of Robert Melton of Stuston*. (pp. 165, 166).

Fos. 28—38. *Owayn Miles*. Of this poem there are three English MSS., all differing versions: all have been

printed. The present resembles that found in Cotton. MS. Calig. A 2, fo. 89, (printed by Professor E. Kölbing in *Englische Studien*, vol. i. p. 113), but contains a few more lines and some different readings.

Fos. 39—44. *Fragment of the Life of St. Margaret and Sir Olybryus*. Printed by Dr. C. Horstmann in *Altenglische Legenden*, Heilbronn, 1881, p. 237. (This is the inferior version made about 1450, upon the older story of the saint found in the Auchinleck MS. fo. 16 b., made about 1310. Our fragment ends at line 365 of Horstmann's print).

\* Fos. 45—46. *Accounts of Robert Melton*. (pp. 163—165).

\* Fos. 47—50. *The Felson Book of Stuston*. (pp. 154—158).

Fos. 51—55. *Articles of enquiry at "The corte baronne."*

Fos. 55—59. "*Articuli lete*."

\* Fo. 59 v°. *Agreement and quittance for delivery of barley*. (p. 167).

\* Fo. 60 v°. *Book for the Task of Stuston*. (p. 158).

\* Fo. 62. *Private account*, ? R. Melton or . . . Kempe. (p. 161).

Fo. 63. *Recipe for the jaundice*.

\* Fo. 64, 65. *Church Duties of Stuston*. (pp. 159—161).

Fo. 65 v°. *Accounts of R. Melton*. (See note p. 162).

Fos. 68—77. Copies of deeds and charters, with translations into English, dated from 3rd Edward III. to 30th Henry VI., twelve in number.

\* Fo. 77 v°. *Accounts of R. Melton*. (pp. 162, 163).

Fo. 78 v°. *List of Prayers to be said*.

Fo. 79 v°. *A Christmas Carol about Mary*.

Fo. 80. *Directions for certain masses to form a trental*.  
Curious.

\* Fo. 81. *Part of Poems by Lydgate*. (pp. 152—154).

## I.

## Play of Abraham and Isaac.

Five English plays on the subject of Abraham's sacrifice are known, the Brome MS. gives a sixth, and no two are alike.<sup>3</sup> Each of the four great collections of plays, the Chester, York, Towneley, and Coventry, includes it; one is also found in a separate form at Trinity College, Dublin. In the lists of plays performed at Beverley and Newcastle, too, this subject has a place; and there is little doubt that it was a favourite piece, both on account of its human and pathetic interest, and its capabilities of conveying instruction, either of the mystic-typical kind familiar to the early centuries, or of a directly religious and moral nature. When complete in itself, as in the York or Dublin MSS., the play may in some instances have been performed separately, independently of the great cycle of which it formed a part; the fact that it is sometimes found in detached manuscripts would seem to indicate this. Even at Dublin, however, we know from the city records that the play of "Abraham and Isaac, with their offering and altar," was performed by the weavers' company as one of the Corpus Christi plays.<sup>4</sup> I have found nothing to show that the play in the Brome MS. belonged to such a cycle in any town in East Anglia (traces exist of performances of religious plays at Wymondham, Manningtree, and Cambridge, and probably may be found in other places); but though it did, its separate preservation thus, copied among a number of other poems, is a proof that it was held in much estimation. The poet allowed himself space as though

<sup>3</sup> Besides these, Arthur Golding translated one from the French of Theodore Beza, in 1575, (a copy is in the Bodleian Library). See *Mistère du Viel Testament*, pub. par Baron J. de Rothschild (Soc. des Anciens Textes Franc. 1879), vol. ii. p. xviii.

<sup>4</sup> *History of Dublin*, by Walter Harris, London, 1766, p. 148.



for a distinct play; it is nearly one hundred lines longer than the Dublin, and eighty-six lines longer than the York, the longest of the other Abraham plays. And that it may have been performed as an independent piece is confirmed by the analogy of the French *Sacrifice d'Abraham* out of the collection *Le Mystère du Viel Testament*, which M. Rothschild says "paraît avoir été plus d'une fois représenté comme une mystère distinct."<sup>5</sup>

The performers to whom the play of *Abraham and Isaac* was allotted in various towns did not always belong to the same trade; in Newcastle-upon-Tyne the slaters produced it;<sup>6</sup> in Beverley the bowyers and fletchers; in Dublin, as we have seen, the weavers; in York, the parchminers

<sup>5</sup> Vol. ii. pp. 1—3.

<sup>6</sup> Though the Newcastle play has not been preserved, the following account of expenses incurred in performing it in A.D. 1568, was extant in 1789 in the book of the Slaters' Company:—

	s.	d.
"The plaers for thear dennares . . . . .	3	0
for wyne . . . . .	0	8
for the rede clothe . . . . .	2	0
for the care . . . . .	0	20
for four stoopes . . . . .	0	6
for dreanke . . . . .	0	6
for bearers of the care and baneres . . . . .	0	18
in drencke 3d. to theme that bare the care, and 1d. to the plaeres in drencke, and 2d. the horse mete . . . . .	0	6
for the pyper . . . . .	0	8
for rosemare . . . . .	0	2
for detten of the swearde . . . . .	0	2
for charcole 2d., for the detten of the croones . . . . .	0	2
Bertram Sadler for plaers whan they came home from the playe in mete and drenk had . . . . .	0	6"

(*History of Newcastle*, by John Brand, 1789, vol. ii. p. 370). We have here a car, on which was perhaps carried the altar for sacrifice, as the bearers are mentioned; banners preceded it, as was usual at such performances. Red cloth, a sword, and crowns are the other properties. The players and probably the piper also seem to have been well provided with meat, drink, and wine.

and bookbinders; in Chester, the barbers and wax-chaundlers; for Coventry and Wakefield (Towneley mysteries) the performers are not recorded.

The play now printed from the Brome MS. is superior to other versions<sup>7</sup> in the touches of child-nature, and the varied play of feeling skilfully shown—the dear coquetting between the love of his child and the committal of the deed by the obedient but agonised father. The child begging his father not to kill him, and his fear of the sword, even after all danger is over (lines 168, 180, 378-9) are touched in with a life not found elsewhere. The thought of the mother (though Sara is not herself brought in) breaks out in the most natural and affecting manner (lines 175, 205, 254—261, 372); and the joyful rebound of emotion after the painful strain between duty and affection, expressing itself in the kisses of Abraham and the apostrophes of Isaac to the “gentle sheep,” must have warmly appealed to the hearts of the audience. Finally, the lesson of faith for “learned and lewed” and “the wisest of us all” is taught by the “Doctor” in the simplest manner, without reference to types or Christianity.

In printing,<sup>8</sup> the contractions of the manuscript are extended (in italics). There are few peculiarities to note, the crossed *ff* and *h* are constantly used, but for this date (1470 or 1480) it did not seem necessary to treat them otherwise than as *ll* and *h*. The initial letters of the lines are nearly all capital and invariably rubricated, a red line, too, is drawn under every proper name and frequently under other words, especially substantives, or two or three words at the beginning of a speech; this may be to signify emphasis, but there is no apparent rule.

<sup>7</sup> See for a more detailed comparison of the various English plays of *Abraham and Isaac* with the Brome version, *Anglia*, vol. vii. part 3. (Halle, 1884).

<sup>8</sup> That is, in this play and the other poems. The few extensions in the accounts are not distinguished.

With regard to the versification the reader will observe that it is irregular, in several places the lines run in clear stanzas of five lines, rhyming a b a a b, in others they appear to be in stanzas of eight lines, rhyming alternately, with a frequent short line or tag following. There are also many lines which seem to be formless as regards metre, rhyme, or stanza. Judging by the analogy of other plays of the kind, it is probable that this also was originally composed with much care for its poetical form, but has become partially corrupt through oral repetition and the errors of copyists. In one or two instances only have the sense and the rhyme required enabled me to suggest restorations (lines 132, 141, 354, 428): a local or corrected pronunciation will lead to the restoration of other rhymes, as in lines 17—20, 38, 40, 76, 286, 409, 410.

It must be remarked also that interjectional phrases and exclamations were probably often treated as prose in this piece, as they certainly were in the York plays. This adds to the difficulty of discovering the normal stanza. Three stage directions only are found (after lines 289, 315, and 383): they are written in the MS. as part of the text. The rest, with the title, personages, and scene of the play, are my addition. The names of the speakers are written in the margin of the original.

The language does not call for more than a few explanatory foot-notes. In the pronunciation may be noticed the flat *sch* for the sharp *ch* (initial), as *schereys*, *schonge* for cheers, change (lines 18, 179); certain words now written with a long vowel are written with it short, as *uyll* for well, *fell*, *knell*, *dell*, for feel, kneel, deal; and the suppression of some strong consonants in the middle of words, as the *g* in *stronly* (lines 78, 208), *nd* in *commawmentes*, *comamentes*, (lines 46, 92, &c.), and the *t* in *conunauns* (countenance.)



And ther for, fadyr of heuyn, I the prey  
 For hys helth and also for hys grace,  
 Now lord, kepe hym both nygth and day,  
 That neuer desesse nor noo fray 24  
 Cume to my chyld in noo place.

[To Isaac.  
 Now cum on, ysaac, my owyne swete chyld!  
 Goo we hom and take owr rest.

Ysaac.

Abraham! myne owyne fader so myld, 28  
 To folowe zow I am full glad,  
 Bothe erly and late.

Abraham.

Fo. 15<sup>v</sup>. Cume on, swete chyld, I love the best  
 Of all the chyldryn that euer I be-gat. 32

Deus [in Heaven].

Myn angell, fast hey the thy wey,  
 And on to medyll-erth anon pou goo,  
 Abram's hart now wyll I asay,  
 Wether that he be stedfast or noo. 36  
 Sey I commaw[n]dyd hym for to take  
 Ysaac, hys zowng soune, pat he love so wyll,  
 And with hys blood sacryfyce he make,  
 Yffe ony off my freynchepe yf he wyll ffell. 40  
 Schow hym the wey on to the hylle  
 Wer that hys sacryffyce schall be,  
 I schall a-say now hys good wyll,  
 Whether he lovyd better hys chyld or me. 44  
 All men schall take exampyll be hym  
 My commawmentes how they schall kepe.

Abraham.

Now fader of heuyn pat formyd all thyng,  
 My preyeres I make to the a-geyn, 48

For thys day my tender offryng  
 Here mvst I geve to the certeyn.  
 A! lord god, all myty kyng,  
 Wat maner best woll make p<sup>e</sup> most fayn? 52  
 Yff I had ther-of very knyng  
 Yt schuld be don *with* all my mayne,  
 Full sone a-none.  
 To don thy plesyng on an hyll, 56  
 Verely yt ys my wyll,  
 Dere fader god in trinite.

[*Enter Angel.*

The Angell.

Abraham, Abraham, wyll pou rest!  
 Owr lord comandyth pe for to take 60  
 Fo. 16. Ysaac, thy zowng sone that thow lovyst best,  
 And *with* hys blod sacryfye pat thow make.  
 In to the lond of Vsyon thow goo,  
 And offer thy chyld on-to thy lord; 64  
 I schall the lede and schow all soo;  
 Vnto goddes hest Abraham a-cord,  
 And folow me vp on thys grene.<sup>5</sup>

Abraham.

Wolle-com to me be my lordes sond, 68  
 And hys hest I wyll not *with*-stond:  
 zyt ysaac, my zowng sonne in lond,  
 A full dere chyld to me haue byn.  
 I had lever,<sup>6</sup> yf god had be plesyd, 72  
 For to a for-bore all pe good pat I haue,  
 Than ysaac my sone schuld a be desessyd,  
 So god in heuyn my sowll mot saue!

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps *grene* should be *hond*, to rhyme with *stond* in line 69.

<sup>6</sup> *Lever*, comparative of *lief*, dear: *I had lever*, it were dearer to me, I had rather.

I lovyd neuer thyng soo mych in erthe,<sup>7</sup> 76  
 And now I mvst the chyld goo kyll  
 A! lord god, my conseons ys stronly steryd,  
 And 3yt my dere lord I am sore a-ferd,  
 To groche ony thyng a-gens 3owre wyll. 80  
 I love my chyld as my lyffe,  
 But 3yt I love my god myche more,  
 For thow my hart woold make ony stryffe,  
 3yt wyll I not spare for chyld nor wyffe, 84  
 But don after my lordes lore.  
 Thow I love my sonne neuer so wyll,  
 3yt smythe of hys hed sone I schall.  
 A! fader of heuyn, to the I knell,<sup>8</sup> 88  
 An hard dethe my son schall fell  
 For to honor the, lord, with-all.

The Angell.

Fo. 16 v°. Abraham! Abraham! thys ys wyll seyde,  
 And all thys comamentes<sup>9</sup> loke pat pou kepe, 92  
 But in thy hart be no thyng dysmasyd.

Abraham.

Nay, nay, for-soth, I hold me wyll plesyd.  
 To plesse<sup>1</sup> my god to the best pat I haue.  
 For thow my hart be heuely sett 96  
 To see the blood of my owyn dere sone,  
 3yt for all thys I wyll not lett,  
 But ysaac my son I wyll goo fett, [Exit Angel.  
 And cum asse fast as euer we can. 100

Now ysaac, my owyne son dere,  
 Wer art thow, chyld? Speke to me.

<sup>7</sup> Pronounce *erde*, cf. lines 220, 222.

<sup>8</sup> *Knell*, kneel.

<sup>9</sup> *Comamentes*, commandments.

<sup>1</sup> MS. *plesse*.

## Ysaac.

My fader, swet fader, I am here,  
And make my preyrys to pe trenyte. 104

## Abraham.

Rysse vp, my chyld, and fast cum heder,  
My gentyll barn pat art so wysse,  
For we to, chyld, must goo to-geder,  
And on-to my lord make sacryffyce. 108

## Ysaac.

I am full redy, my fader, loo !  
zevyn at zowr handes I stand rygth here,  
And wat so euer ze byd me doo,  
Yt schall be don with glad cher, 112  
Full wyll and fyne.

## Abraham.

A ! ysaac, my owyn son soo dere,  
Godes blyssyng I zyffe the and myn.  
Hold thys fagot vp on pi bake, 116  
And her my selfe fyer schall bryng.

## Ysaac.

Fader all thys here wyll I packe,  
I am full fayn to do zowr bedyng.

Fo. 17.

## Abraham.

A ! lord of heuyn, my handes I wryng, 120  
Thys chyldes wordes all to wond my harte.  
Now ysaac, son, goo we owr wey [They set off.  
On to zon mownte, with all owr mayn.

## Ysaac.

Gowe my dere fader as fast as I may, 124  
To folow zow I am full fayn,  
All thow I be slendyr.



## Abraham.

A! lord! my hart brekyth on tweyn,<sup>3</sup>  
 Thys chyldes wordes, they be so tender. 128

A! ysaac, son, a-non ley yt down,  
 No lenger vp on pi backe yt bere,  
 For I mvst make redy bon  
 To honowr my lord god as I schuld.<sup>3</sup> 132

[*They arrive at Mount Vision.*]

## Ysaac.

Loo! my dere fader, were yt ys,  
 To cher zow all-wey I draw me nere.  
 But fader, I mervell sore of thys,  
 Wy pat ze make thys heuy chere? 136  
 And also, fader, euer more dred I,  
 Wer ys zowr qweke<sup>4</sup> best pat ze schuld kyll?

Both fyer and wood we haue redy,  
 But queke best haue we non on pis hyll. 140  
 A qwyke best, I wot wyll, must be ded,  
 zowr sacryfyce for to make.<sup>5</sup>

## Abraham.

Dred the nowgth, my chyld, I the red,  
 Owr lord wyll send me on to thys sted, 144  
 Summ maner a best for to take,  
 Throw hys swet sond.

## Ysaac.

za! fader, but my hart begynnyth to quake,  
 To se pat scharpe sword in zowr hond. 148  
 Wy bere ze zowr sword drawyn soo?  
 Fo.17 v°. Off zowre conwnauns<sup>6</sup> I haue mych wonder.

<sup>3</sup> In MS. *tewyn*.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the original version had *that I fere*, for as *I schuld*.

<sup>4</sup> *Queke*, quick, alive. <sup>5</sup> In the MS. lines 141, 142 are reversed.

<sup>6</sup> This word appears to be *countenance*.

Abraham.

A! fader of heuyn, so <sup>7</sup> I am woo!  
Thys chyld her brekys my harte on too. 152

Ysaac.

Tell me, my dere fader, or that ze ses,  
Ber ze zowr sword draw for me?

Abraham.

A! ysaac, swet son, pes! pes!  
For i-wys thow breke my harte on thre. 156

Ysaac.

Now trewly sum-wat, fader, ze thynke,  
That ze morne thus more and more.

Abraham.

A! lord of heuyn, thy grace let synke,  
For my hart was neuer halffe so sore. 160

Ysaac.

I preye zow, fader, pat ze wyll let me pat wyt,  
Wyther schall I haue ony harme or noo?

Abraham.

I-wys, swet son, I may not tell the zyt,  
My hart ys now soo full of woo. 164

Ysaac.

Dere fader, I prey zow, hydygth<sup>8</sup> not fro me,  
But sum of zowr thowt pat ze tell me.

Abraham.

A! ysaac, ysaac! I must kyll the.

<sup>7</sup> MS *os*.

<sup>8</sup> *Hydygth*, hide it. This appears to be a relic of the coalescence of a verb and pronoun, a peculiarity of East Midland dialect. See also lines 257, 300, 304.

Ysaac.

Kyll me, fader, a-lasse! wat haue I done? 168

Yff I haue trespassyd a-gens zow owt,

With a zard ze may make me full myld;

And with zowr scharp sword kyll me nogth,

For i-wys, fader, I am but a chyld. 172

Abraham.

I am full sory, son, thy blood for to spyll,

But truly, my chyld, I may not chese.

Ysaac.

Now I wold to god my moder were her on ys hyll,

Sche woold knele for me on both hyr knees 176

To save my lyffe.

And sythyn that my moder ys not here,

Fo. 18. I pray zow fader, schonge<sup>9</sup> zowr cheere,

And kyll me not with zowyr knyffe. 180

Abraham.

For-sothe, son, but zyf I the kyll,

I schuld greve god rygth sore, I drede,

Yt ys hys commawment and also hys wyll -

That I schuld do thys same dede. 184

He commawndyd me, son, for serteyn,

To make my sacryfyce with thy blood.

Ysaac.

And ys yt goddes wyll pat I schuld be slayn?

Abraham.

Za, truly, ysaac, my son soo good, 188

And ther-for my handes I wryng.

<sup>9</sup> Schonge, change.

Ysaac.

Now fader, agens my lordes wyll,  
 I wyll neuer groche, lowd nor styll ;  
 He mygth a sent<sup>1</sup> me a better desteny 192  
 Yf yt had a be<sup>1</sup> hys plecer.

Abraham.

For-sothe, son, but yf I ded pis dede,  
 Grevosly dysplessyd owr lord wyll be.

Ysaac.

Nay, nay, fader, god for-bede, 196  
 That euer ge schuld greve hym for me.

ge haue other chyldryn, on or too,  
 The wyche ge schuld love wyll be kynd ;  
 I prey zow, fader, make ge no woo, 200  
 For be I onys ded and fro zow goo,  
 I schall be sone owt of zowre mynd.

Ther-for doo owre lordes byddyng,  
 And wan I am ded than prey for me : 204  
 But, good fader, tell ge my moder no thyng,  
 Sey pat I am in a-nother cuntre dwellyng.<sup>2</sup>

Abraham.

A! ysaac, ysaac, blyssyd mot thow be!

My hart be-gynnys<sup>3</sup> stronly to rysse, 208  
 To see the blood off thy blyssyd body.

<sup>1</sup> *A sent, a be*—have sent, have been.

<sup>2</sup> MS. *dwellyng*.

<sup>3</sup> MS. *begynnyd*.

## Ysaac.

Fader, syn yt may be noo other wysse,  
 Let yt passe ouer as wyll as I.  
 Fo. 18 v°. But fader, or I goo on to my deth, 212  
 I prey 3ow blysse me with 3owr hand.

## Abraham.

Now ysaac, with all my breth,  
 My blyssyng I geve pe vpon thys lond,  
 And godes also ther to, i-wys. 216  
 Ysaac! ysaac, sone vp thow stond,  
 Thy fayer swete mowthe pat I may kys.

## Ysaac.

Now, for wyll,<sup>4</sup> my owyne fader so fyn,  
 And grete wyll my moder in erthe.<sup>5</sup> 220  
 But I prey 3ow fader to hyd my eyne,  
 That I se not pe stroke of 3owr scharpe sword,  
 That my fleyssse schall defyle.

## Abraham.

Sone, thy wordes make me to wepe full sore, 224  
 Now my dere son ysaac, speke no more.

## Ysaac.

A! my owyne dere fader, were fore?  
 We schall speke to-gedyr her but a wyll.<sup>6</sup>  
 And sythyn that I must nedysse be ded, 228  
 3yt my dere fader, to 3ow I prey,  
 Smythe but feve<sup>7</sup> strokes at my hed,  
 And make an end as sone as 3e may,  
 And tery not to longe. 232

<sup>4</sup> That is, fare well.<sup>5</sup> See note to line 76.<sup>6</sup> Wyll, while.<sup>7</sup> i.e. few.

Abraham.

Thy meke wordes, chyld, make me afrayed,  
 So welawey! may be my songe,  
 Excepe alonly godes wyll.

A! ysaac, my owyn swete chyld! 236  
 zyt kysse me a-zen vp-on thys hyll!  
 In all thys war[l]d ys non so myld.

Ysaac.

Now, truly fader, all thys teryyng  
 Yt doth my hart but harme. 240  
 I prey zow, fader, make an enddyng.

Abraham.

Cume up, swet son, on to my arme,  
 I must bynd thy handes too, [*He binds Isaac's hands.*]  
 All thow thow be neuer soo myld. 244

Ysaac.

A! mercy, fader, wy schuld ze do soo?

Fo. 19.

Abraham.

That thow schuldyst not let [me], my chyld.

Ysaac.

Nay, i-wysse, fader, I wyll not let zow,  
 Do on for me zowre wyll, 248  
 And on the purpos that ze haue set zow,  
 For godes love kepe yt forthe styll.  
 I am full sory thys day to dey,  
 But zyt I kepe not my god to greve, 252  
 Do on zowre lyst for me hardly,  
 My fayer swete fader, I zeffe zow leve.

But, *fader*, I prey *zow euer more*,  
 Tell *ze* my *moder* no *dell*.<sup>s</sup> 256  
*Yffe* *sche* *wostyt* *sche* *wold* *wepe* *full* *sore*,  
 For *i-wysse*, *fader*, *sche* *lovyt* *me* *full* *wyll*;  
*Goddess* *blyssyng* *mot* *sche* *haue*!  
 Now *for-wyll*, my *moder* *so* *swete*, 260  
 We *too* *be* *leke* *no* *mor* *to* *mete*.

## Abraham.

A! *ysaac*, *ysaac*! *son*, *pou* *makyst* *me* *to* *gret*,  
 And *with* *thy* *wordes* *thow* *dystempurst* *me*.

## Ysaac.

I-*wysse*, *swete* *fader*, I *am* *sory* *to* *greve* *zow*, 264  
 I *cry* *zow* *mercy* *of* *that* I *haue* *donne*,  
 And *of* *all* *trespasse* *pat* *euer* I *ded* *meve* *zow*,  
 Now, *dere* *fader*, *for-zyffe* *me* *pat* I *have* *donne*.  
 God *of* *heuyn* *be* *with* *me*. 268

## Abraham.

A! *dere* *chylde*, *lefe* *of* *thy* *monys*,  
 In *all* *thy* *lyffe* *thow* *grevyd* *me* *neuer* *onys*,  
 Now *blyssyd* *be* *thow*, *body* *and* *bonys*,  
 That *euer* *thow* *were* *bred* *and* *born*, 272  
 Thow *hast* *be* *to* *me*, *chylde*, *full* *good*.  
 But *i-wysse*, *chylde*, *thou* I *morne* *neuer* *so* *fast*,  
*zyt* *must* I *nedes* *here* *at* *the* *last*  
 In *thys* *place* *sched* *all* *thy* *blood*. 276  
 Ther-*for*, my *dere* *son*, *her* *schall* *pou* *lye*,  
 On-*to* *my* *warke* I *must* *me* *stede*,  
 I-*wysse* I *had* *as* *leve* *my* *selffe* *to* *dey*,—  
 Fo. 19<sup>v</sup>. Yf *god* *wyll* *be* *plecyd* *wyth* *my* *dede*,— 280  
 And *myn* *owyn* *body* *for* *to* *offer*.

<sup>s</sup> *Dell*, deal, bit; *no dell*, not at all.

Ysaac.

A! *mercy, fader, morne* ze no more,  
 zowr wepyng make my hart sore,  
 As my owyn deth that I schall suffer. 284  
 zowre kerche fader a-bowt my eyn ze wynd.

Abraham.

So I schall, my swettest chyld in erthe.

Ysaac.

Now zyt, good fader, haue thys in mynd,  
 And smyth me not oftyn with zowr scharp sword, 288  
 But hastely that yt be sped.

Abraham.

[Here Abraham leyd a cloth on Ysaacs face, thus seyyng—

Now, fore wyll, my chyld, so full of *grace*.

Ysaac.

A! fader, fader, torne downgward my face,  
 For of zowre scharpe sword I am euer a dred. 292

Abraham.

To don thys dede I am full sory,  
 But lord thyn hest I wyll not with stond.

Ysaac.

A! Fader of heuyn! to the I crye,  
 Lord, reseyyve me in to thy hand. 296

Abraham.

Loo! now ys the tyme cum certeyn,  
 That my sword in hys necke schall synke.  
 A! lord, my hart reysyth ther ageyn,  
 I may not fyndyghth<sup>9</sup> in my harte to smygth; 300

<sup>9</sup> See note to line 165.



My hart wyll not now ther too,  
 3yt fayn I woold warke my lordes wyll.  
 But thys 3owng Innoſent lygth ſo ſtyll,  
 I may not fyndygth in my hart hym to kyll. 304  
 O! Fader of heuyn! what ſchall I doo?

## Yſaac.

A! mercy, fader, wy tery 3e ſo,  
 And let me ley thus longe on piſ heth?  
 Now I wold to god pe ſtroke were doo, 308  
 Fader, I prey 3ow hartely, ſchorte me of my woo,  
 And let me not loke thus after my degth.

## Abraham.

Now hart, wy wolddyſt not thow breke on thre?  
 Fo. 20. 3yt ſchall pu not make me to my god on-myld.  
 I wyll no lenger let for the, [312  
 For that my god a-grevyd wold be,  
 Now hoold tha ſtroke, my owyn dere chyld.

[Her Abraham drew hys ſtroke and the angell toke the ſword in  
 hys hond ſoddenly.

## The Angell.

I am an angell, thou mayiſt ſe blythe, 316  
 That fro heuyn to the ys ſenth,  
 Owr lord thanke the an c. ſythe,  
 For the keypyng of hys commawment.  
 He knowyt pi wyll and alſo thy harte, 320  
 That thow dredyſt hym above all thyng,  
 And ſum of thy hevynes for to departe  
 A fayr Ram 3ynder I gan brynge,  
 He ſtandyth teyed, loo! a-mong pe breres. 324  
 Now, Abraham, a-mend thy mood,  
 For yſaac, thy 3owng ſon pat her ys,  
 Thys day ſchall not ſched hys blood;

Goo, make thy sacryfece with 3on Rame. 328

Now, for-wyll <sup>1</sup> blyssyd Abraham,

For on-to heuyn I goo now hom,

The wey ys full gayn.

Take vp thy son soo free. [*Exit Angel.* 332

Abraham.

A! lord, I thanke the of thy gret grace,

Now am I yeyed <sup>2</sup> on dyuers wysse,

A-rysse vp, ysaac, my dere sunne, a-rysse, 336

Arysse vp, swete chyld, and cum to me.

Ysaac.

A! mercy, fader, wy smygth 3e not 3yt?

A! smygth on, fader, onys with 3owre knyffe.

Abraham.

Pesse, my swet sir! and take no thowt,

For owre lord of heuyn hath grant pi lyffe 340

Be hys angell now,

That pou schalt not dey pis day, sunne, truly.

Fo. 20 v.

Ysaac.

A! fader, full glad than wer I,

I-wys! fader, I sey, i-wys! 344

Yf thys tale wer trew.

Abraham.

An hundyrd tymys, my son fayer of hew,

For joy pi mowth now wyll I kys.

Ysaac.

A! my dere fader, Abraham, 348

Wyll not god be wroth pat we do thus?

<sup>1</sup> *For-wyll*, farewell.

<sup>2</sup> *Yeyed*, joyed, rejoiced.

## Abraham.

Noo, noo! harly<sup>3</sup> my swyt son,  
 For gyn<sup>4</sup> same Rame he hath vs sent  
 Hether down to vs. 352  
 gyn<sup>4</sup> best schall dey here in pi sted,  
 In the worpchup<sup>5</sup> of owr lord a-lon.  
 Goo fet hym hethyr, my chylde, in ded.

## Ysaac.

Fader I wyll goo hent<sup>6</sup> hym be the hed, 356  
 And bryng gon best with me a-non.

[Isaac catches the ram.

A! scheppe, scheppe! blyssyd mot pou be,  
 That euer thou were sent down heder,  
 Thou schall thys day dey for me, 360  
 In the worchup of the holy Tyynyte,  
 Now cum fast and goo we to-geder  
 To my fader of heuyn,  
 Thou pou be neuer so jentyll and good, 364  
 zyt had I leuer thou schedyst pi blood,  
 I-wysse, scheppe, than I.  
 Loo! fader, I haue browt here full smerte,  
 Thys jentyll scheppe, 368  
 And hym to zow I zyffe.  
 But lord god, I thanke pe with all my hart,  
 For I am glad that I schall leve,  
 And kys onys my dere moder. 372

## Abraham.

Now be rygth myry, my swete chylde,  
 For thys qwyke best pat ys so myld,  
 Fo. 21. Here I schall present be-fore all other.

<sup>3</sup> Harly, heartily.

<sup>4</sup> gyn, you.

<sup>5</sup> MS. worpchup.

<sup>6</sup> Hent, seize.

Ysaac.

And I wyll fast be-gynne to blowe, 376  
 Thys fyere schall brene a full good spyd;  
 But, fader, wyll I stowppe<sup>7</sup> downe lowe,  
 ze wyll not kyll me with zowre sword, I trowe?

Abraham.

Noo, harly,<sup>8</sup> swet son haue no dred, 380  
 My mornying ys past.

Ysaac.

A! but I woold pat sword wer in a glad,<sup>9</sup>  
 For i-wys, fader, yt make me full yll a-gast.

[Here Abraham mad hys offryng, knelyng and seying thus—

Abraham.

Now lord god of hevyn in Trynyte, 384  
 All myty god omnipotent,  
 My offeryng I make in the worchope of the,  
 And with thys qweke best I the present.  
 Lord, reseyyve thow myn intent, 388  
 As art god and grownd of owr grace.

Deus.

Abraham, Abraham, wyll mot thow sped,  
 And ysaac, pi zowng son the by,  
 Trvly, Abraham, for thys dede, 392  
 I schall mvltyplye zowres botheres sede  
 As thyke as sterres be in the skye,  
 Bothe more and lesse;  
 And as thyke as gravell in the see, 396  
 So thyke mvltyplyed zowre sede schall be,  
 Thys grant I zow for zowre goodnesse.

<sup>7</sup> *Stowppe*, stooped, bend.

<sup>8</sup> *Harly*, hertely, heartily, truly.

<sup>9</sup> *Glad*, glede, hot ash in the fire. Isaac wishes the sword were in the fire, it terrifies him so greatly.

Off 3ow schall cume frowte gret,  
 And euer be in blysse *with-owt* 3ynd,<sup>1</sup> 400  
 For 3e drede me as god a-lon,  
 And kepe my *commawmentes* eueryschon.  
 My blyssyng I 3effe, wer so euer 3e goo.

Abraham.

Loo ysaac, my son, how thynke 3e 404  
 Be thys warke that we haue wrogth,  
 Fo.21 v. Full glad and blythe we may be  
 Agens pe wyll of god *pat* we grucched nott,  
 Vp-on thys fayer hetth. 408

Ysaac.

A! fader, I thanke owr lord euery dell,  
 That my wyt servyd me so wyll,  
 For to drede god more than my detth.

Abraham.

Why dere-wordy son, wer thow a-dred? 412  
 Hardely, chyld, tell me thy lore.

Ysaac.

3a, be my feyth, fader, now hath I red,  
 I wos neuer soo afrayd be-fore,  
 As I haue byn at 3yn hyll. 416  
 But be my feyth, fader, I swere  
 I wyll neuer more cume there,  
 But yt be a-3ens my wyll.

Abraham.

3a, cum on *with* me, my owyn swet sonn, 420  
 And hom-ward fast now let vs goon.

Ysaac.

Be my feyth, fader, ther-to I grant,  
 I had neuer so good wyll to gon hom,  
 And to speke *with* my dere moder. 424

<sup>1</sup> 3ynd, end.

## Abraham.

A! lord of heuyn, I thanke the,  
 For now may I led hom *with* me  
 Ysaac, my gownge sonn soo fre.  
 The gentyllest chyld a-bove all other,<sup>2</sup> 428  
 Thys may I wyll a-voee.  
 Now goo we forthe my blyssyd sonn.

## Ysaac.

I grant, fader, and let vs gon,  
 For be my trowthe wer I at home, 432  
 I wold neuer gon owt vnder that forme.  
 I prey god zeffe vs grace euer mo,  
 And all thow that we be holdyng to.

## Doctor.

Lo! sovereyns and sorys,<sup>3</sup> now haue we schowyd, 436  
 Thys solom story hath schowyd to grete and smale,  
 It ys good lernyng to lernd and lewd,  
 Fo. And pe wysest of vs all,  
 22. Wyth owtyn ony berryng.<sup>4</sup> 440  
 For thys story schoyt zowe  
 How we schuld kepe to owr pore  
 Goddes *commawmentes*, with owt grochyng.  
 Trowe ze, sores, and god sent an angell, 444  
 And *commawndyd* zow to smygth of zowr chyldes hed,  
 Be zowe trowthe ys ther ony of zow  
 That eyther wold groche or stryve ther ageyn?

<sup>2</sup> MS., *erthe*.<sup>3</sup> *Sorys*, sirs.<sup>4</sup> *Berryng*, from berry, to thresh. The "learning" or teaching of this story comes out without any threshing.

How thyngke 3e now, sorys, ther-by ? 448  
 I trow ther be iij or iiij or moo ;  
 And thys women that wepe so sorowfully  
 Whan that hyr chyldryn dey them froo,  
 As nater woll,<sup>5</sup> and kynd. 452  
 Yt ys but folly, I may wyll awooe,  
 To groche a-3ens god or to greve 3ow,  
 For 3e schall neuer se hym myschevyd, wyll I knowe,  
 Be lond nor watyr, haue thys in mynd. 456  
 And groche not a-3ens owr lord god,  
 In welthe or woo, wether that he 3ow send,  
 Thow 3e be neuer so hard be-stad,  
 For whan he wyll he may yt a-mend. 460  
 Hys comawmentes treuly yf 3e kepe with goo[d] hart,  
 As thys story hath now schowyd 3ow before,  
 And feytheffully serve hym qwyll 3e be qvart,<sup>6</sup>  
 That 3e may plece god bothe euyn and morne. 464  
 Now Jesu, that weryt the crown of thorne,  
 Bryng vs all to heuyn blysse !

Finis.

## SOME OLD RIDDLES AND SAYINGS.

Fo. 1 v°. (see fac-simile.)

The puzzle of these riddles consists in the words being spelt in a sort of cypher ; every vowel is indicated by the letter which follows it in the alphabet ; thus, what should be a is *written* b

o	„	„	p
e	„	„	f
i	„	„	k
w	„	„	x

<sup>5</sup> *Woll* repeated twice in MS.

<sup>6</sup> *Quart*, active, hearty, in good condition.

The rubricator appears to have made a mistake in writing **F** instead of **B** (for **A**) as the initial of the two first lines.

Professor Skeat, who kindly helped me to decipher these queer-looking puzzles, has met with several of the same kind among Anglo-Saxon MSS. In the Sloane MS. 351, fo. 15 v<sup>o</sup>. (fifteenth cent.) are some curious directions for writing in this style, but more complicated: they are printed in Wright and Halliwell's *Reliquæ Antiquæ*, vol. ii. p. 15. Other instances are, doubtless, to be found scattered here and there in old family books like the present. They are also well known in French MSS. It will be observed that the final result of all the five puzzles is highly uncomplimentary to women. I give a solution in the right-hand column.

[Different positions.<sup>7</sup>]

<b>F</b> hert hfrbprpwkth.	<b>[A]</b> hart harborowith.
<b>F</b> knyth hfrbprpwkth.	<b>[A]</b> knyth harborowith.
<b>B</b> dowke lpggkth.	<b>A</b> dowke loggith.
<b>B</b> Roo Bftdkth.	<b>A</b> Roo betdith.
<b>B</b> 3[e]man Bftdkth.	<b>A</b> 3eman betdith.
<b>B</b> hbrf in b forme syttyng.	<b>A</b> hare in a forme syttyng.
schuldryng of lenyng.	[shouldering or leaning.]
<b>B</b> cony syttyng.	<b>A</b> cony syttyng.

[Five puzzles.]

**Take iij claterars.**

<b>B</b> pkf.	<b>A</b> pie.
<b>B</b> kbk.	<b>A</b> iai (jay).
<b>B</b> xpmbn.	<b>A</b> woman.

<sup>7</sup> These sentences, as well as the Daily Rules, are found also in the *Boke of St. Alban's*, among the household sayings and aphorisms with which Caxton filled up the blank pages at the end of Dame Juliana Berner's *Boke of Hunting*. (See Mr. Blade's preface, p. 21, to reprint of 1881, and signatures f 5, f 7 b.) But Caxton has, instead of the second and third lines above, "a bucke lodgith, an esquier lodgith;" lines 6 and 7 run, "an haare in her forme shulder yng or leenyng," which gives better sense; "a wodcokke beek yng" is a ninth line wanting here.



**Take iij lowrars.<sup>a</sup>**

B bpf.	A ape.
B pwl̃f.	A owle.
B xpmbn.	A woman.

**Take iij schrewys.<sup>a</sup>**

B xbspf.	A waspe.
B xfskll.	A wesill.
B xpmbn.	A woman.

**Take iij angry.**

B ffrkfr.	A frier.
B ffp̃x.	A fox.
B xpmbn.	A woman.

**Ther be iiij thyngys take gret betyng.**

B stpkfk̃sch.	A stockfisch. <sup>1</sup>
B mkl̃stpn.	A milston.
B ffd̃k̃rbfd.	A fedirbed.
B xopmbn.	A wooman.

**[Daily Rules.]<sup>2</sup>**

Fyrst a-rysse erly,  
 Serve thy god devly,  
 And the war[l]d besylly;  
 Do thy warke wyssely,  
 ȝyfe thy almesse sekyrly,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Lowrar, one of frowning or lowering countenance.

<sup>a</sup> A shrew, one of a sharp or biting disposition.

<sup>1</sup> Stockfish, a kind of fish dried for keeping, especially in the north. It was so hard that it required much beating, and soaking in water, to render it eatable. (See *The Babees Book*, &c., ed. Furnivall, Early English Text Society, pp. 155, 214, and Index.) The stock-fishmonger was a regular trade in London. (See Riley's *Liber Albus* (translation) pp. 325, 328.

<sup>2</sup> These rules differ a little from Caxton's version. They are given here to complete the explanation of the fac-simile.

<sup>3</sup> *Sekyrly*, surely.

Goe be the way sadly,  
 And awnswer the pepff cvrtesly.  
 Goo to thy met happely,  
 Syt ther at dyscre[t]ly.  
 Of thy tong be not to lybraly,  
 A rysse fro thy met tempraly.  
 Goo to thy sopper sadly,  
 A-rysse fro sopper soburly.  
 Goo to thy bed myrely,  
 And lye ther in jocunly,  
 And plesse and loffe thy wyffe dewly,  
 And basse<sup>4</sup> hyr onys or tewyis myrely.  
 A lord god mercy *qui verba cuncta creasti.*  
 Helpe kyng of cowmefort *qui vitam semper amasti.*

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## FORTUNE IN LIFE TOLD BY THE CASTING OF DICE.

I do not know any other version of these lines save one in *Sloane MS.* 513, fo. 98 v°. (the only English thing in a volume of Latin pieces) though they probably exist in other miscellaneous books. The first line is wanting in the *Brome MS.* and is supplied from the *Sloane*; this latter, on the other hand, is not perfect, being cut off at line 70 of the *Brome MS.* The numerals of each cast are set in figures in the margin of the *Sloane*, and are transferred here to the left side of the page; they are pictured in red, like red dice, on the side of one page of the *Brome MS.* The curiosity of the poem, otherwise without merit, lies in the combination of two favourite pastimes of our fathers—nay, they are hardly extinct yet.

<sup>4</sup> *Basse*, kiss.

- 666 [pou pat hast y-cast tre syses here]  
 Fo. 2 Schall haue 3owr dessyer y<sup>e</sup> same 3er,  
 How 3ow stabyll and ware nowt,  
 For 3e shall haue after 3owr thowt. 4
- 665 3e that haue to sysyttes and a synke,  
 Closse 3owr hart and on god thynke,  
 And so be godes grace 3e schall fulffyll  
 That 3e dessyer, with hart and wyll. 8
- 664 Synys and Catyr that 3e haue cast,  
 Schowyt pat 3owr hart ys stedffast,  
 Erre nowt but euer thynke wyll,  
 And 3owr dessyer schall cumme in euery dyll. 12
- 663 That 3e haue cast synys and trey,  
 May lytely ffallyn on 3owr pray,  
 3e mvst cast another chance  
 Yff 3e thynke 3owr selffe to a-vans. 16
- 662 Be synys and dewsse 3e may trost  
 To haue 3owr wyll at the last,  
 But I tell 3ow, with owt fayll,  
 3e schall haue myche thowt and travell. 20
- 661 Synys and asse tell me sekerly  
 That 3owr deessyer ys but folly,  
 Schonge 3owr thowt, I cowncell the,  
 Yffe 3e wyll not a schamyd be. 24
- 655 Be sysse and synkys<sup>b</sup> that 3e haue cast  
 3e schall haue swyche freynchepe at y<sup>e</sup> last,  
 Be wom 3e schall avanteyssyd be,  
 And set in worchop and in gret degre. 28
- 664 Sysse synke and Catter byndyn the,  
 Chonge 3owr thowt, for yt ys but a vanyte.  
 Be thyng 3ow of the same thyn y<sup>t</sup> ys mor abyll,  
 For thys ys no thyng prophytabyll. 32
- 653 Fo.2<sup>v</sup> 3e that haue cast sysse synk and thre,  
 3owr dessyer to purposse browt may be,

<sup>b</sup> Sloane, *quynze*.

- But yf dessyer be to zow hygth,  
 Kepe zow fro schame both day and nygth. 36
- 652        Sysse synke and dewsse ys *zour* cast;  
 ze dessyer, but be not agast,  
 For yff ze warke wysely in ded and thowt  
 To *zour* purposse, yt schall be rygth wyll browt. 40
- 651        zowr cast ys sysse synke and as;  
 ze stond rygth in wonder casse,  
 ze dessyer and dare not tell,  
 God be *zour* helpe and consell. 44
- 644        ze that sysse and caterys<sup>6</sup> haue in y<sup>e</sup> deysse,  
 Let be *zour* thowtes, for they be nysse,  
 zowr hart ys set in swyche a loue  
 That ys no thyng for *zour* be-hove. 48
- 643        ze that hath cast sysse cater and trey,  
 ze be set in rygth good wey,  
 Bere zow wyll and be of good cownfort,  
 For ze shall be lovyd and haue gret dyssort. 52
- 642        Sysse cater and dwasse I tell zow tyte,  
 That *zour* love hath zow in dysspyte,  
 With draw *zour* hart and ryffe zow to pley,  
 For no man con hold that wyll a-wey. 56
- 641        He that hath cast cater, as, and sysse,  
 ze be of wyt both ware and wysse,  
 But be war of comberying of synne,  
 Thynke on the hyndyng or y<sup>t</sup> ye be gynne. 60
- 633        zowr cast wosse sysse and dobyll trey;  
 Fortewne fall not to *zour* pay,  
 But yf ze wyll haue *zour* wyll  
 All that ys yll, let yt be styll. 64
- 632 Fo. 3        ze that have sysse trey and dews cast,  
 Off a certyn thyng ze be agast,  
 But loke ze be trew in *zour* entencion,  
 And ze schall haue *zour* petyssyon. 68

<sup>6</sup> Sloane, *querins*.

- 631           He that sys, trey, and as to hym takys,  
           In hys werkes wysely he wakys,  
           For he schall dessyer no thyng,  
           That he nowt schall spede of hys askynge.           72
- (622)<sup>7</sup>       ze that haue sys, dewes, and too,  
           ze be a ffolle, go were ze goo ;  
           ze coveyt of non leffull thyng,  
           ze schall not spede of your askyng.           76
- (621)       ze y<sup>t</sup> haue sysse, dewa, and on cast,  
           The best 3ynd of your thryft ys past,  
           But ze may 3ow so well ber,  
           That your enmyes schall 3ow not der.           80
- (611)       ze that haue sysse and aumbys as,  
           ze haue set your hert in swyche a plasse  
           Were ze dare neyther speke nor loke,  
           But thowt ys fre, thus seyth y<sup>e</sup> boke.           84
- (555)       ze that haue cast her thre synkys,  
           ze dare not sey all that ze kynkes,  
           But 3owr dessyer ze schall not ffayll,  
           All thow yt schall 3ow lytyll a-wall.           88
- (545)       Synke, cater, synke, ze haue on the dysse ;  
           I counsell 3ow be war and wysse,  
           Trost non erdely thyng that may be,  
           For the wor[l]d ys but a vanite.           92
- (530)       Synke and trey was 3owr schauns;  
           God ys myty 3ow to a-wauns,  
           Be trew and trost in mary myld,  
           And sche wyll 3ow fro schame schyld.           96

---

[The three following stanzas are part of a poem by Lydgate which is found in several MSS., as Harl. 116, fo. 124, and Harl. 2251, fo. 173. These contain three or four more stanzas, on Fortitude and other virtues, the two

<sup>7</sup> The figures in ( ) are supplied by me.

last lines here headed *Fortitudo* are not however the same. The names of the first and third stanzas are reversed. The scribe was perhaps careless, and did not complete this copy, but the top of the next leaf shows that Lydgate's poems were still in mind; the same hand copied there six lines (incorrectly) from another of his short pieces, beginning—"The more I goo the ferther I am behynd," which is printed in the volume of Lydgate's poems edited by Mr. J. O. Halliwell for the Percy Society, 1840, p. 74. See also Harl. 2251, fo. 38 v°. and Add. 29,729, fo. 131. The final stanza on fo. 81 I have not been able to identify.]

Prudencia.

Fo. 80 v°. Thynges passyd Remembrans and wyll devise,  
 Thynges present consydris and wyll gonne,  
 For thynges comyng prudently provide,  
 Peyse materys or thow deme or dyscerne.  
 Let rygth yn causys hold thy lantarne,  
 By twyne frynd and foo stond zevyn and egall,  
 And for no mede be nowt percyall.

Justicia.

Furst in thy Mesur loke ther be no lacke,  
 Off thy weyghtys hold iustely y<sup>e</sup> balaunce,  
 Be trew in rekenyng and set no summe a-backe,  
 And in thy wordes let be no<sup>s</sup> variaunce.  
 Off cher be sad, demure of governaunce,  
 Set folke at rest and [ap] pes all trobyll,  
 Be war of flaterys and of tonges dobyll.

Temperancia.

By sapyens ay tempyre thy corage,  
 Off lusty yre dout thy pacyens,  
 Defer gens tyll thy werth [wrath] aswage,  
 Cheresch the good for ther condicions.

<sup>s</sup> Brome MS. has *lacke*, but *variance* is evidently right, as in the other MSS.

Puniche patiently the *transgrescions*  
 Off men desrewlyd, redressyng ther errour,  
 Mercy preferyng or thow do rygour.

**Fortitudo.**

Ye<sup>9</sup> lordes that desyreth to be honorabyll  
 Cheresch your folke and hat extorcion.

Fo. 81 I stond as styll as ony stone  
 The *grace* of god yan he wyll send,  
 All thyng may not cum a-none  
 But wane god wyll yt may a mend.  
*Lux* ys leyd a downe,  
 And *veritas* ys but small,  
*Amor* ys owt of towne  
 And *caritas* ys gon with all.

---

II.

Fo. 47 v<sup>o</sup>.      **The Felson Booke.**

This is the felson booke for the Est Comouns of Stuston  
 as apeurth her aftur, that is to weet:—

First the maner of How Margareth<sup>1</sup> for comenyng  
 upon the Est comune of Stuston . . . . . ijd.  
 Item the prioras of Flyxston for comenyng upon  
 the same comoune<sup>2</sup> . . . . . vjd.  
 Item Nicolas Adham for comonyng . . . . . iijd.  
 Item Robert Clerk de Stoston for the tenment y<sup>t</sup>  
 Burgat dwels in caled Elams . . . . . ijd.

<sup>9</sup> MS. has *The*.

<sup>1</sup> How Margaret's appears to be another name for the manor of Stuston, the parish containing several manors. (See p. 159.)

<sup>2</sup> The manor of Falcons, otherwise Facons, in Stuston, belonged to the Augustine nunnery of Flixton (suppressed in 1528): see Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.* vol. vi. p. 594. It appears on the "Felson" and "Task" books.

Item Joh. Byrde for the tenment Lommys . . .	ijd.
Item Willm. Hoberd for y <sup>e</sup> tenment Martyns . .	ijd.
Item Willm. Warnne for y <sup>e</sup> tenment Colydurs . .	jd. q <sup>r</sup> .
Item Joh. Wheymond for the tenment Adgor de Ocle <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	jd. q <sup>r</sup> .
It. Willm. Becket for the ponde yerd . . .	ijd.
It. Joh. Chapman for y <sup>e</sup> tenment Roger Chapman .	jd.
It. Thomas Row for diuers tennementes . . .	vjd.
It. Alysaunder Bullur for the schepcot . . .	jd. ob.
It. the (? Dame) Clerke <sup>4</sup> for hyr tenment sumtyme John Clerkes . . . . .	jd.

## Fo. 48.

This is the felsson bocke of the West Comon of Stuston as  
apeurth her after that is to weete—

First Willm. Warnne for the tenment F. Snow- hyttes for comenyng upon the same comon of Stoston . . . . .	jd. ob.
It. the same Willm for the tenment Wheyberdys .	ijd.
It. Willm. Davy for y <sup>e</sup> tenment Ropkyns . . .	jd. ob.
It. John Cade for y <sup>e</sup> tenment Water Caddes . . .	ijd.
It. John Calwer (Mr. R. Hoberde <sup>5</sup> ) for ye tenment Grenys Yerd otherwysse calyd Brockes . . .	ob.
It. the same John (Mr. R. Hoberd <sup>5</sup> ) for the ten- ment calyd Brabys now R. Hoberddes . . .	ob.
It. the same Recherd Hoberd for the tenment Jordons . . . . .	jd.
It. John Cade for the tenment sumtyme Recherd Osborns ner Ropkyns . . . . .	jd.
It. Watur Turner for the tenment calyd Barnerdys .	jd. ob.
It. the same Turner for the tenment calyd Debnhams . . . . .	jd. ob.

<sup>3</sup> Oakley in Suffolk, one of the group of Cornwallis manors.

<sup>4</sup> *Mr. Robt. Clerke* is interlined.      <sup>5</sup> Interlined.



It. the same Turner for the tenment sumtyme	
Ballys . . . . .	jd. ob.
It. the same Torner for the tenment calyd	
Chandlers . . . . .	ob.
It. Robt. Smalborow for the tenment sumtyme	
Andrew Smalborows . . . . .	ijd.
It. Harry Harolde for the tenment sumtyme	
Harwys and sumtyme Clerson . . . . .	jd. ob.
It. Robt. Clerke bocher for the tenment Porsons .	jd. ob.
It. the same Robt. for the tenment calyd Lewe-	
reches . . . . .	ijd. q <sup>r</sup> .
It. Watur Cowper for the tenment sumtyme	
Thomas Cowpers . . . . .	jd. ob.
It. John Cowper for the tenment Rolffys sumtyme	
Styls, antea Wardes . . . . .	jd.
It. Joh. Byrd for the tenment Frennys . . . . .	jd.
It. Thomas Cade for the tenment sumtyme Nycolas	
Caddes . . . . .	jd.
It. Recherd Edone for y <sup>e</sup> tenment Berkers . . . . .	jd.
It. y <sup>e</sup> same Edone for y <sup>e</sup> tenment Roger Hoppers .	ijd.
It. y <sup>e</sup> same Edone (Mr. Twaygth) <sup>6</sup> for y <sup>e</sup> tenment	
Roger Gyllsire . . . . .	ob.
It. for the tenement Barthulmew Lelyes . . . . .	ob.
[Summa] ijs. iiijd. qr.	

Fo. 49.

This is the bille of the Felson in Stuston.

Fyrst Robert Melton for the tenment Tomas Cadys	jd.
It. the Toune of Dyse for the tenment Clerkys	
and after Edon <sup>7</sup> . . . . .	q <sup>r</sup> .

<sup>6</sup> Interlined.

<sup>7</sup> Blomesfield mentions "the lands that were given by Richard Edon, in 1494, to pay the leet fee, or common fine of Diss, for ever, and to keep his obit, &c.," (*Hist. Norfolk*, ed. 1805, i. p. 36) as part of the town lands of Diss. This tenement in Stuston is identified by his name as one of these lands for which the town owed to felson, task, and church dues.

It. Joh. Byrd for the tenment late Roger Cade .	jd.
It. Joh. Moton for the tenment Rolffys, sumtyme stylyd <sup>s</sup> Warddys . . . . .	jd.
It. Robert Cowper for the tenment late Watur Cowpers . . . . .	jd ob.
It. Recherd Hobard for the tenment calyd Grennys Yerd . . . . .	ob.
It. the same Recherd for the tenement Jurdons .	jd.
It. the same Recherd for y <sup>e</sup> tenment Kateryne Taylers . . . . .	ob.
It. Robt. Clerke for the tenment Leweryche .	ijd. q <sup>r</sup> .
It. the same Robt. for the tenment Joh. Porsons .	jd. ob.
Fo. 49 v <sup>o</sup> .	
It. Sr. Joh. Harolde, preste, <sup>9</sup> for the tenment sumtyme Joh. Clerson . . . . .	jd. ob.
It. Joh. Permanter for the tenment lat Andrew Smalburo . . . . .	ijd.
It. Watur Turnor for the tenment calyd Bawllys .	jd. ob.
It. the same Watur for the tenment cawlyd Dobmanys . . . . .	jd. ob.
It. the same Turnor for the tenment cawlyd Bar- nardys . . . . .	jd. ob.
It. the same Turnor for the tenment cawlyd Chalundlers . . . . .	ob.
It. Joh. Cade for the tenment sumtyme Water Cadys . . . . .	jd.
It. the same John for y <sup>e</sup> tenment cawlyd Recherd Osborn . . . . .	jd.
It. Roger Calthaw for the tenment lat Margery Ropkyn . . . . .	jd. ob.

<sup>9</sup> MS. *stylys*.

<sup>9</sup> In A. Page's *Supplement to the Suffolk Traveller*, London, 1844, p. 487, it is stated that John Herold, Parson of Stuston, gave certain gifts to gilds and a service in Diss, in 1504. This must have been the same Sir John Herold, preste, above named.

- It. Willm. Waren for the tenment sumtyme Betrys  
 Wheyberds . . . . . ijd.
- It. the same Waren for the tenment sumtyme  
 Thomas Snowhyte . . . . . jd. ob.
- Fo. 50.
- It. the londholders of Recherd Edon (Mr. Joh.  
 Twaygth)<sup>1</sup> for a tenment in Thranston sum-  
 tyme Roger Gylys, ob. It. the same lond-  
 holders for another tenment in Thranston  
 sumtyme Roger Hopers, jd. . . . Summa jd. ob.
- It. Joh. Cheweler for a tenment in Thranston sum-  
 tyme Berthulmew Lyllys . . . . . ob.  
 [Summa] ijs. iiijd.
- 

Fo. 60 v°.

## THE TASK BOOK.

Thys ys the boke ffor the holle Taske of Sturston.<sup>2</sup>

- John Warne . . . . . iijs.
- Item Thomas Cawthaw . . . . . xvjd.
- Item John Clarke . . . . . iiijd.
- Item Master Mynster chamber for Cadys . . . iijs.
- Item Robt. Harrold . . . . . iiijd.
- Item Water Turner . . . . . xvjd.
- Item Thomas Parmenter . . . . . xvjd.
- Item Master John Mynster chamber for y<sup>e</sup> tene-  
 ment sumtyme Parsons Harrolds . . . xvjd.
- Item John Clarke . . . . . xvjd.
- Item Robt. Cooper . . . . . xvjd.
- Item John Muttur . . . . . xiiijd.
- Item Rychard Hubberd . . . . . ijs. viiij.
- Item Thomas Byrde . . . . . xvjd.
- Fo. 61.
- Item Wyllyam Jesept . . . . . iiijd.

<sup>1</sup> Written above the line.<sup>2</sup> These two pages are in a later hand.

Item the towne of Dysse . . . . .	ijs.
Item Thomas Jesept . . . . .	vjd.
Item Robt. Popy . . . . .	vjd.
Item the maner of (Stustone als. <sup>3</sup> ) How Margettes	ijs. vjd.
Item the maner off Facons . . . . .	iijs. iiijd.
Item Master Robt. Meltun for the tenement late Thomas Cades . . . . .	iijs.
Item the same Master Robt. Meltun for Jesepts	xvjd.

## Thrandston.

Item Master Yaxflay for Edons landys and late Ropkyns . . . . .	ijs. iiijd.
Item Pullam . . . . .	vd.
Item John Qwayght <sup>4</sup> . . . . .	iiijd.
Item John Cheveler . . . . .	iiijd.
Item Wroo . . . . .	jd.
Jaffery Row . . . . .	ijd.

## CHURCH DUTIES.

Fo. 64.

Thes be the dutes longyng to the cherche of Stuston as  
apeurth her aftur—

In primis Thomas Jesope for ij lokys . . . . .	jd. ob.
It. the same Thomas for plowshote <sup>5</sup> . . . . .	ob.
It. the same Thomas for Curtelage . . . . .	ob.
It. the plasse late Thomas Cadys for a locke, halffe a bussell of barly.	
It. for ij lockys . . . . .	jd. ob.
It. for plow shot . . . . .	jd.
It. for curtelage . . . . .	ob.
It. the plasse longyng to the Toune of Disse for plowshete . . . . .	jd.

<sup>3</sup> Interlined. <sup>4</sup> Perhaps Twayght, but the initial letter is not T.<sup>5</sup> See before, p. 119.

It. for curtlage . . . . .	ob.
It. John Burgat for a locke . . . . .	ob. q <sup>r</sup> .
It. for curtlage . . . . .	ob.
It. John Byrde for iij lockes . . . . .	ijd. q <sup>r</sup> .
It. for plow shote . . . . .	jd.
It. for curtlage . . . . .	ob.
Fo. 64 v <sup>e</sup> .	

It. Raberd Cowper for the tenment next Byrdys, lat in the holde of Chawercurte, for a locke . . .	ob. q <sup>r</sup>
It. for plowchote for one holl plow a jd., and di plow ob.	

It. for curtlage . . . . .	ob.
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It. Robard Harolde for the tenment lat watur cowpers for ij lokes . . . . .	jd. ob.
--	---------

It. for plow chot for one holl plow . . . . .	jd.
---	-----

It. for curtlage . . . . .	ob.
----------------------------	-----

It. Recherd Hoberd for ij lockys . . . . .	jd. ob.
--	---------

It. for plow chot for one holl plow . . . . .	jd.
---	-----

It. for curtlage . . . . .	ob.
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It. Rabard Clerke the bocher for iij lockes . . .	ijd. q <sup>r</sup> .
---	-----------------------

It. for plowchot . . . . .	jd. ob.
----------------------------	---------

It. for curtlage . . . . .	ob.
----------------------------	-----

It. the tenment lat Smalborows for plowchot for di. plow obol . . . . .	ob. q <sup>r</sup> .
--	----------------------

It. for curtlage . . . . .	ob.
----------------------------	-----

It. Thomas Turner for iij lockes . . . . .	ijd. q <sup>r</sup> .
--	-----------------------

It. for curtlage . . . . .	ob.
----------------------------	-----

Fo. 65.

It. John Cade for plowchot . . . . .	jd.
--------------------------------------	-----

It. for curtlage . . . . .	ob.
----------------------------	-----

It. John Penning for the tenment lat Raberd Clerkes y <sup>e</sup> bocher for curtlage . . . . .	ob.
---	-----

It. Will Davy for a locke . . . . .	ob. q <sup>r</sup> .
-------------------------------------	----------------------

It. for curtlage . . . . .	ob.
----------------------------	-----

It. John Kyng for curtlage . . . . .	ob.
--------------------------------------	-----

It. Nycolas Spray for curtlage . . . . .	ob.
It. Willm. Warene for iij lockes . . . . .	ijd. q <sup>r</sup> .
It. for plowchot . . . . .	jd.
It. for curtlage . . . . .	ob.

## III.

[Account of ? Robt. Melton or . . . . . Kempe for expenses ober his mother and brother J. B. 1499 to 1503].

Fo. 62 v<sup>o</sup>. [A.D. 1499.]

M <sup>d</sup> . delyuered to my mother for to pay Goodwyn in the xv. yere of Kyng Harry the vij <sup>th</sup> . . . . .	xxx.
Item I sent to hyr the same yere by my wyffe and my brother Willm. to pay Markantes manne . . . . .	xxvjs. viij <sup>d</sup> .
It. for a bonet of welwete bowte for hyr at Norweche . . . . .	xvs.
It. for a fryntlet of saten with the lynying of welwete . . . . .	vjs.
It. for ij yerddys and iij quarturs of tawny clothe for my mother, the price of a yerd iiij <sup>s</sup> . . . . . summa	xjs.
It. for a chete of schanckes <sup>6</sup> made for the same gownne with a ly[n]ing of lether . . . . .	ijs. xd.
It. for v tawelyns of schanckes for the coler and the coffe of the same gown . . . . .	xijd.

<sup>6</sup> *Shanks* was an ordinary fur from the legs or thighs of rabbits and other animals (see Fairholt's *Dictionary of Costume*, and Halliwell's *Archaic Dictionary*); a *chete* appears to be part of the dress, perhaps for *chute*, a hanging piece. *Tawelyns* seem to be a measure; these two words I am unable to find. [*Chete* is now "Norfolk" for a false front.—Ed.]

It. for a gown for my brother Willm. . . .	vjs. viijd.
It. for a horse clothe of roset, the price . . .	viijd.
Summa	iiij <i>li</i> . ix <i>s</i> . xd.

## Fo. 63.

It. for vij hundurd wood and a halffe that my mothere hade at Schelffangguy, <sup>7</sup> the price of a hundurd xxd., summa vij hundurd and di. . . . .	xijs. vjd.
It. for vij cumbe whete and ij busshell, the price of a cumbe iij <i>s</i> . iiij <i>d</i> . summa	xix <i>s</i> . viij <i>d</i> .
It. for a cumbe of mesclyn, the price . . .	ijs. viij <i>d</i> .
It. for v cumbe of whete that sche bowte of me afor I maryed, the price . . . .	vjs. viij <i>d</i> .
It. for ix cumbe and iij b <i>3</i> of mawlte that sche bowte of me at dyuers tymys the price of a cumbe xxd. . . . . summa	xvjs. iij <i>d</i> .

[A.D. 1503].

It. for ij yere bordyng of my brother Willm. Kempe yendyng upon seynt Edmondmys day afor Crystmes in the xix yere of Kyng Harry y <sup>e</sup> vij <sup>th</sup> . . . . .	iiij <i>li</i> . vjs. viij <i>d</i> .
Summa	vj <i>li</i> . iiij <i>s</i> . vd.

Summa totalis x*li*. xiiij*s*. iij*d*. wher of abate  
[but it does not say what].

Fo. 77 v<sup>o</sup>. [A.D. 1502.]

## ROBERT MELTON'S ACCOUNTS: DEBTORS.

Thes parsell folowyng be owyng to me R. Melton up on  
the xiiij day of Juyff Ao. H. VII. xvij<sup>mo</sup>.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Shelfhanger, a parish in Norfolk, near Diss.

<sup>8</sup> Three pages, 65 v<sup>o</sup>.—66 v<sup>o</sup>., contain further accounts of corn bought (not sold) by R. Melton from Midsummer, 17th Hen. VII. As there are no fresh names mentioned and the items resemble those of the following year (pp. 163, 164) it is needless to add them here.

Fyrst Jamys Prime for ij cumbe mesclyn . . . . .	vjs.
It. for the same Jamys for v cumbe barly . . . . .	ixs. ijd.
It. Joh. Prime y <sup>e</sup> elder for ij cumbe barly and iij busshell . . . . .	iijs. ix <i>d</i> .
It. Lamdon of Eye, hoser, for a cumbe of mesclyn, the price . . . . .	iijs.
It. Robart Tayler of Eye, wryte, for a cumbe of whete . . . . .	iijs. vii <i>jd</i> .
It. Goslyn of Hoxson, thatcher, for a b <sub>3</sub> <sup>9</sup> of whete . . . . .	x <i>jd</i> .
It. R. Page <sup>1</sup> of Skolle for a cumbe of whete iijs. v <i>jd</i> . a cumbe of mawlte ijs. and for a cumbe peasse xxi <i>jd</i> . . . . .	vjs. iii <i>jd</i> .
Fo. 78.	
It. Kateryn Chapman of Ocle for a b <sub>3</sub> of whete xi <i>jd</i> . and for ij b <sub>3</sub> of mesclyn xvi <i>jd</i> . and a b <sub>3</sub> of maulte v <i>jd</i> ., or ellys vj b <sub>3</sub> of mesclyn at myhlmes . . . . .	iijs.
It. Will. Long of Carton rode for xj cumbe and ij b <sub>3</sub> of barly . . . . .	xixs. i <i>jd</i> .
It. Hew Gey of Stuston for a b <sub>3</sub> of whete x <i>jd</i> . and a b <sub>3</sub> mawlte v <i>jd</i> . . . . .	xvi <i>jd</i> .
It. Deston of Ocley for ij b <sub>3</sub> of mesclyn . . . . .	xvi <i>jd</i> .
It. for a cumbe of maulte delyuered to the same Desston . . . . .	ijs.
It. Dedham of Ocley for whete and mesclyn . . . . .	x <i>jd</i> .
It. to Mother Rymston of Eye for a cumbe of whete . . . . .	vjs. iii <i>jd</i> .

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Fo. 45 [A.D. 1502-3.]

### ROBT. MELTON'S ACCOUNTS.

Thys boke witnessyth of sweche kornne as I Robt.  
Melton hath bowte in the xviij yer of Kyng Harry the vij<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> i. e. a bushell.

<sup>1</sup> See as to R. Page also p. 167.



Fyrst I bowte of Robt. Eyterd of Ocle x cumbe of barly and ij b <sub>3</sub> , the price . . . . .	vjs. viij <i>d</i> .
Item of Jamys Prime v cumbe and a b <sub>3</sub> of whete and v cumb and a b <sub>3</sub> of mesclyn .	xvijs. iiij <i>d</i> .
Item of Recherd Adhams of Ocle xxj cumb barly, the price . . . . .	xvs.
Item to Popy for x cumbe and ij b <sub>3</sub> of barly bowte of hyme, the price . . . . .	xs.
Item to Hary Cade for v cumbe and a b <sub>3</sub> of barly bowte of hym . . . . .	vs.
Item to Jamys Prime upon Seynt Petur ewyn, for viij cumbe barly and a b <sub>3</sub> bowte of hyme the same day, the price . . . . .	vjs. viij <i>d</i> .

Fo. 45 v<sup>o</sup>.

Item bowte of Joh. Wheymond of Ocle, betwix Wesonday and Mydsummer, x cumbe mesclyn and ij b <sub>3</sub> , the price . . . . .	xiijs. iiij <i>d</i> .
Item bowte of the same Wheymond the same tyme xlvj cumbe berly . . . . .	xxxiijs. iiij <i>d</i> .
Item at another tyme vij cumbe barly and ij b <sub>3</sub> , ye price . . . . .	vs. iiij <i>d</i> .
Item at the iiij <sup>de</sup> tyme for xij cumbe barly and ij b <sub>3</sub> , the price . . . . .	ixs. ij <i>d</i> .

Fo. 46.

Whete, mesclyn, barly, and ottys, bowte frome Crow-  
chemes in the xix yere of Kyng Harry the vij<sup>th</sup>.

Fyrst I bowte of Jamys Prime x busshellys of whete and  
di, and x busshell of mesclyn and a halffe.

Item bowte of the same Jamys xxxiiij cumbe barly and  
iiij b<sub>3</sub>.

Item bowte of Roger Page xxxvj cumbe barly and iiij  
busshell.

Item bowte of John Wheymond xlij cumbe barly.

Item bowte of Recherd Adhams xxiiij cumbe barly.

Item bowte of Robert Eyterd vj cumbe whete.

Item bowte of the same Robert x cumbe barly and ij  
busshell.

The sum of the barly of this seyde is vij<sup>xx</sup> cumbe and vj  
[i.e., 146 coombes.]

Fo. 46 v<sup>o</sup>.

Item bowte of Thomas Mason of Eye in the same yere  
a for seyde x busshellys and a halffe of whete and x  
busshellys and a halffe of mesclyn

Item bowte of the same Thomas v cumbe and a busshell  
of barly.

Item bowte of Joh. Grenne of Ocley, x busshellys and di  
of barly.

Item bowt of Willm Lyng ij cumbe of barly.

Item bowte of Defston of Belyngforth v cumbe barly and  
a busshell.

Item bowte of Roger Cawthaw of Stuston v cumbe barly  
and a b3.

Item of Harry Cade a cumbe of barly and a b3 I bowte of  
hym.

Item I bowte of Robert Popy xxxj cumbe barly and ij b3.

Item I bowte of the same Popy xxj cumbe ottes.

Summa of this seyde is lvij cumbe barly.

Fo. 27.

## ACCOUNTS OF R. MELTON.

This byll witnessith of sweche money as I R. Melton  
reseyuyd of Mastras Froxmer<sup>2</sup> for serteayne cornne y<sup>t</sup>  
I, R. Melton, solde longyng to the seyde M. Froxmer from

<sup>2</sup> I.e., Catherine, daughter of Thomas Cornwallis, married to Francis  
Froxmer.—Collins' *Peerage*, 1812, ii. p. 538.

Candylmes in the xxij<sup>th</sup> yere of the reigne of Harry the vij<sup>th</sup> [A.D. 1507-8] on to mydsummer neste after that.

Furst I reseuyd for x cumbe for the seyde

Mastras Froxmer . . . . .	xxxs.
Item for v cumbe mesclyn . . . . .	xjs.
Item for vij cumbe mawlte . . . . .	xijs. iiijd.
Summa	lijs. iiijd.

Wher of payed to the seyde Mastras Froxmer  
in money upon the xx day of Agust the  
same yere aboue seyde . . . . .

vjs. viijd.<sup>3</sup>

Fo. 27 v°.

Item delyuered to Mastras Froxmer up on the  
xxij<sup>th</sup> day of Agust in the same yere afor  
seyd a qwartur of whete, the price . . .

vjs.

Item for a quartur of maulte delyuered the  
same tyme to mastras Froxmer, the price

vjs. viijd.

Summa payed and delyuered to  
the seyde Mastres Froxmer .

xvijs. viijd.

And so ther restyth in the handes of me R.

Melton . . . . . xxxiijs. viijd.

And with that xxxiiij<sup>th</sup>s. viijd.

Furst I bowte iiij quarturs of whete, the price  
of a quartur is iijs. [jd.] . Summa

xvjs. iiijd.

Item for iiij quarturs mesclyn, the price of a  
quartur is iijs. iiijd. . Summa

xiijs. iiijd.

Item for ij quarturs of barly, the price of a  
quartur is ijs. viijd. . Summa

vs. iiijd.

Summa payed for whete, mesclyn, and barly . xxxvs.

And so is owyng me iiijd.

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<sup>3</sup> There are two mistakes in this account, Melton probably overlooked this viijd. in his addition, being over the leaf.

[Agreement and quittance between Roger Page of Scole and Robert Melton of Stuston, 31st May, 1504, for the delivery of thirty-six coombs of barley to the latter].

Fo. 59 v°. [A.D. 1504].

Be it knowen be thes present bill y<sup>e</sup> I Roger Page of Skoles in the Countey of Norffolk haue sold onto Robert Melton, of Stuston in y<sup>e</sup> Countey of Suffolk upon y<sup>e</sup> last day of May in y<sup>e</sup> xix yere of y<sup>e</sup> reigne of kyng Harry y<sup>e</sup> vij<sup>th</sup>. xxxvj combes of barly of chapmannys mett and chapmannys ward to be delyuered be y<sup>e</sup> bushell of y<sup>e</sup> seyde Robert so his bushell passyth not Harleston mett and to be delyuered befor the fest of y<sup>e</sup> natiuite of Cryste next commyng after y<sup>e</sup> date of this presenttes xx combes y<sup>e</sup> of to be deleuered at my plase at Skoles aforseyd and xvj combes to be delyuered with in a myle of the dwellyng plase of the seyde Robert, and I y<sup>e</sup> seyde Roger Page knowlage me fully content and paid for the seid fyve<sup>4</sup> and thretty combes barly the day of making of thes presentes sealed with my seale. Gowyn the last daie of May in the xix yere of the reigne of kyng Herry the vij<sup>th</sup> and if I the seid Roger or myne assignoris make defawte in the deleueraunce of y<sup>e</sup> (fo. 60) seyde fyve and thretty combes barly befor the fest of Cristmes next commyng than I the seid Roger Page bynde me myn heyres and executors to forfeite and paie to the seid Robert Melton and his assignoris iiij*li*. of lawfull money of Yngland.

<sup>4</sup> "Fyve" is evidently a mistake for six, thirty-six being the number twice mentioned above.

## Norfolk Genealogy and Heraldry.

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THE following notes as to some of the more important MSS. bearing on these subjects will, I think, be useful to my readers. Any additions to them will be thankfully received. I am greatly indebted to Stephen Tucker, Esq., Somerset Herald, for most of the references to the Norfolk MSS. in the College of Arms.

WALTER RYE

### VISITATIONS.<sup>1</sup>

"Visitation sans date." Query in College of Arms. (*See* "Norfolk Archæology," i. p. 42.)

"Visitation of 1563." The Visitation of 1563, by William Hervye, Clarencieux, large folio, 175 folios, with 11 at end of arms roughly coloured. The pedigrees are in narrative form, with the arms largely and finely tricked at the top. Its press mark is *G* 1. [Heralds' College.] A copy of the above, in small folio, 507 pp. *H* 15, *part* 2. [Heralds' College.] Also *see* Vincent MSS., 123.

Harleian MSS. 4755 by Wm. *Harvey*, Clarencieux. Folio of 224 pp. with index.

Other copies are:—

Caius College, Cambridge, Library, 555 (augmented and continued to 1644), fos. 139.

Queen's College, Oxford, cxv.

<sup>1</sup> (One of these is being printed by the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, but curiously enough it is not stated *which*).

Harleian MSS. 1552.

Harleian MSS. 5189

Harleian MSS. 1177, fo. 98.

Harleian MSS. 6093.

Harleian MSS. 1552 (bound up with a later one.)

Additional MSS. 5552, fo. 224.

Additional MSS. 11388 and 19816.

Fragments of, Harleian MSS. 1154, fo. 74, 98, 149.

„ Harleian MSS. 1174, fo. 116 and 153.

„ Harleian MSS. 6166.

Rawlinson MSS. (Bodleian) B 393.

“Pedigrees drawn from the Visitation of Norfolk and Suffolk, made by Wm. Harvey, Clarencieux, in 1563, fo. Additional MSS. 14309.” (This book belonged in 1601 to Samuel Todd, who probably compiled it.)

“Visitation by Glover.” In Library of King’s College, Cambridge, Register cxv.

“Visitations taken between 1570 and 1590,” with index. Additional MSS. 16940, fo. 141<sup>b</sup>.

“Visitation of 1589,” by Robert *Cooke*, Clarencieux. *H* 17. [College of Arms.] Copy in Harleian MSS. 1552.

“Visitation” (? which). In Library of King’s College, Cambridge, Register xc. (? identical with)—  
A copy in Queen’s College, Oxford, Library, xc.

“Visitation of Norfolk, 1613,” by John Raven, Richmond Herald, as Deputy for Camden, bound up with the Visitation of Essex and Suffolk (1612 to 1614), folio, 45 pp., pedigrees narrative, arms in trick. *C* 15. [Heralds’ College.]

A copy. Harl. MSS. 1552.

Another copy or extract. Harleian MSS. 4756.

Another copy. Harleian MSS. 5823.

Part of. Harleian MSS. 1154, fo. 51—61, 64—70<sup>b</sup>.

"Visitation by Sir Edward Bysshe, Clarencieux,"<sup>2</sup> began 1664, finished 1668, folio, 212 pp., with 9 pp. of Disclaimers at end. Herringbone pedigrees in Bysshe's unsatisfactory style; arms in trick. *D* 20. [Heralds' College.]

The arms (being considerable additions to those included in the separate volumes) of Bysshe's Visitation of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, are neatly tricked in a thin folio MS., by a careful cotemporaneous draughtsman, and it is marked *D* 21 \*. [Heralds' College.]

Extracts from this Visitation, *see* Harleian MSS. 1085, fo. 37.

### PEDIGREES AND HERALDIC COLLECTIONS.<sup>3</sup>

"Pastons and Mawtebies Arms with their Matches, &c.," by Friar Brackley, a Minorite of Norwich and Chaplain to the Paston family. Small 8vo. MS. of 140 pp., with many coats in trick and colour (*circa* 1460). In my library. Now preparing for publication by me.

"Norfolk Families entitled to bear Arms." Harleian MSS. 1109, indexed, "Norfolk Archæology," vol. iii. 50-1, and vol. iv. p. 292.

"Norfolk Pedigrees in 1612." Harleian MSS. 4756. A folio of 190 pp. This is indexed. *Norfolk Archæology*, i. pp. 40—48.

"Kempe's Heraldical and Historical Collections for Norfolk." Harleian MSS. 901.

Pedigrees. Additional MSS. 5522.

A volume of Arms in trick, by Robert Cooke, Clarencieux, in

<sup>2</sup> "Faults committed by Sir Edward Bysshe, Clarencieux, in the 'Visitation of (i.e.) Norfolk.' Lansdowne MSS. 255, No. 9."

<sup>3</sup> Additional MSS. 12525-6 (Mackerell) and Harleian MS. 6762 are indexed in my Vol. on Norfolk Topography under the various parishes.

1574, small folio, contains about 70 coats of Norfolk families. 2 G 13. [College of Arms.]

“Visitation 123, College of Arms,” is a valuable MS. folio of 400 pp., with small collection of arms at end, and is called a copy of Hervy’s Visitation, in the hand of Augustin Vincent; but it is not a copy. He has taken the Visitation of 1563 as his groundwork, has *tabulated* the pedigrees in the ordinary way, and brought them down to his own time, besides adding many that are not even mentioned by Hervye. [College of Arms.]

*Phil.* 33 (collection of John Philips, Somerset Herald) is a volume of Arms tricked. 28 pp. relate to those of Norfolk families. Folio. [College of Arms.]

*Phil.* 34 is a copy, though the *narrative* form is changed for the tabulated, of the Visitation of 1563, “transcripta p. W. Smith, Rouge Dragon, 1600.” Arms well drawn. Folio, 115 pp. [College of Arms.]

*Phil.* 35. Another and similar copy to Smith, probably a first draft. It differs only in *Phil.* 34, in the lines of generation, &c., being in *red* ink. [College of Arms.]

Three large folio vols. of Pedigrees, by the late T. W. King, York Herald, contain a great deal relating to Norfolk families, with the history of which he was versed and connected. [College of Arms.]

Pedigrees, &c. Tanner’s MSS., Bodleian. Vol. 180 and vol. 257.

“Book containing many Norfolk Arms about the end of Edward IV.” E. P. Shirley’s MSS. No. 114. See index to Fifth Report of the Historical MSS. Commission, p. 367.

Arms of the Norfolk Knights who served in the wars of Edward I., printed in Mason’s Norfolk, i. p. 69.

“List of Lords, Knights, Esquires, and Gentlemen in the County, 1500.” All Saints’ College Library, Cambridge, clv. 365.



- "Arms, &c., in 1572." Tanner's MSS. Bodleian Library, vol. 226, fo. 7.
- "Knights made by Elizabeth and James I. in their progresses through Norfolk and Suffolk, &c." [College of Arms, Vincent MSS. 442.]
- "Pedigrees of Families circa 1612." Harleian MSS. 4756.
- "Arms of Norfolk Families." Harl. MSS. 1101.
- "Arms of Norfolk Families by Bysshe." [College of Arms, Vincent MS. 184.]
- "Collection of Arms" (not confined to Norfolk), by 'Augustine *Steward*,' sixteenth century. Large fo. Egerton MSS. 2162.
- "Notices of the Arms, Funerals, and Monuments of various persons in the County of Norfolk," apparently collected by Thomas *Starling*, of Norwich, in 1686-96. Additional MSS. 14417, fo. 38.
- "Norfolk Arms" (510 coats), collected by Anthony *Norris*, of Barton, from Guillim, Morgan, monuments, Caius College Visitations (2), Lib. 1238 and 1271, Camden, Le Neve's papers, Old Roll of Knights, Edward I., belonging to Ralph Brook, Somerset Herald, and a MS. of Joseph Hallands, 17th Edward I. (I do not know where the original is, but I have a copy made by James Sancroft in 1753.)
- "Norfolk Arms" (433 coats) from the MS. of Mr. Joseph *Bokenham*, late Fellow of Caius, and after Rector of Stoke Ash. Collected from printed Books and sixty-five MSS. in Caius College Library. (Copy in my possession).
- "Norfolk Arms" (502 coats). (Nos. 127-167 are from *Mackerell's* "History of Lynn," published 1738). (Copy in my possession).
- "Arms taken in the Churches of Norfolk and Suffolk (seventeenth century.)" Additional MSS. 4969.
- "Collection of Arms in trick belonging to Families in the

- Counties of Norfolk, Lincoln, &c. (1706)." Additional MSS. 21008, folio.
- "Collection of Arms in trick of Families in . . . . Norfolk . . . .," by Clare *Morris* 1717-8, folio. Additional MSS. 14833.
- "*Insignia Armorum*" (by B. *Mackerell*) on the Coats of Arms of all the Nobility of England, Scotland, and Ireland, in their proper colours, with their several titles, names, and mottoes, all in alphabetical order, 12mo. A beautiful MS. written in 1728, containing 450 drawings, (priced in Bohn's Catalogue of 1848 at £4 14s. 6d.)
- "Arms of Norfolk Knights," temp. Edward I. Copied by Rev. Francis Peck, 1734. Additional MSS. 27402, fo. 7-9 (from the Fenn Library).
- "An Alphabet of Arms," chiefly of families in Norfolk and Suffolk, written probably by Francis *Whisler*, [Whistler?] herald painter, of Norwich, in 1745 (1747 ?), folio. Additional MSS. 12481.
- "Large collection of Coats of Arms and Crests of Families of different counties in England," but more particularly of Norfolk and Suffolk, "tricked by Mr. Thomas *Starling*, painter, of Norwich, who appears to have been officially employed by Sir Henry St. George, Garter ;" with some additions and an index by Francis *Whisler* and Christopher *Capon* of Norwich. Two vols., large folio. Additional MSS. 14298, 14299.
- "Notes of Norfolk Families, Alphabet of Arms, &c." By Mr. *Borrett* and the Rev. J. *Bokenham*.<sup>4</sup> Additional MSS. 5522, fo. 1—159.
- "Thos. Gibbons' Collections for History of Norfolk and Suffolk Families." Harl. MSS. 970—972.
- "Arms of Norfolk and Suffolk Families." Lansdowne MSS. 860, fo. 224-6.

<sup>4</sup> See ante, p. 172.

- "Quarterings of Arms in pen and ink of Norfolk Families, and of English Peers, by Thomas *Sterling*." Small 4to., Egerton MSS. 2191.
- "List of Arms." Rawlinson's MSS. *A* 278, fo. 47.
- "Arms of Knights." Ashmolean MSS. 1121, fo. 241, 242.
- "Heraldic Notes from Churches of Easton, Snetterton, and other places in Norfolk." Lansdowne MSS. 255, fo. 337—341.
- "Notes of various Arms in Churches, Manor Houses, &c." Ashmole, 792, ii.
- "Arms in Towns, Villages, Churches, &c." By Robert *Kemp*. Hare MSS. 901.
- "Arms of Families." Rawlinson MSS. *B* 103, fo. 243, 278, fo. 255<sup>b</sup>.
- "Arms of the Norfolk Gentry," from a Visitation, with a Table of Surnames. Harleian MSS. 1101.
- "Ancient Shields on the ceiling of South Aisle of St. Nicholas, Yarmouth." Norfolk Archæology, ii. 149.
- "Notice of Roll of Arms" (chiefly refers to the Hastings family) belonging to Richard Charles Browne, Esq. Norfolk Archæology, vi. p. 73 (by G. A. Carthew).
- "Shields in Sculthorpe Church." Norfolk Archæology, vii. p. 321.
- "Various Genealogical and Heraldic Collections," in Harleian MSS. 1101, 1154, 1552, 1174, 1177, 4755, 5823, 5189, 6093, 6166, 970, 1085, 1109, 1234, 1363, 1367, 1386, 1452, 1457, 2198, and 2230, and Lansdowne MSS. 860 *a* and *b*, 260.
- "Funeral Entry Book, with Escutcheons, 1686—1719." Additional MSS. 12223.

#### GENEALOGICAL COLLECTIONS.

- "Eschaetor's Accounts." Twentieth Report of Deputy Keeper, pp. 119, 121, and 123.

- "Inquisitiona." Twentieth Report of Deputy Keeper, 123 and 124.
- "Feodary Book," temp. Henry III. and 9th Edward II. Additional MSS. 5522, fo. 171—248.
- "Knights' Fees." Ashmol. MSS. 866, fo. 247.
- Ditto. Tanner's MSS. Bodleian Library, vol. 228, fo. 35.
- "Return to Exchequer of Names of Lords of Manors in Lands of Freebridge and Clackclose," 9th Edward II. Norfolk Archæology, vi. 5 n.
- "Tenants in Capita in (*i.a.*) Norfolk," 45th Edward III. Roll of. 2nd appendix to 3rd Report of Deputy Keeper, p. 189.
- "Feodary of Norfolk and Suffolk," temp. Edward I. Elizabeth (285 foa.) Additional MSS. 25291 (sixteenth century).
- "Lords, Bannerets, and Knights, Names of," who died a. p. m. temp. Edward III., Richard II., and Henry IV. by Sir Thomas Erpingham. Lansdowne MSS. 229, No. 55.
- "Gentlemen, Names of;" *Nomina Generosum ex Kalendario Martirologii Fratrum Augustinens: Norwicens: Parker MSS. ccx. O 229.*
- "Gentlemen, &c., of, Names of," 32nd Henry III. to end of Henry VI. from Le Neve's Collections. Tanner's MSS. Bodleian Library, vol. 96, fo. 72.
- "Names of Gentry," Henry III. to Edward II., vol. 289 fo. 31, 39, fo. 68. Tanner's MSS. Bodleian Library, vol. 261, fo. 46.
- Ditto, Edward I. to Richard II., vol. 95, fo. 139, 141, 142.
- "Names and Arms of Gentlemen, 1572." *Id.*, vol. 226, fo. 7.
- "Pedigrees and Arms of various Families" *Id.*, vol. 180—257.
- "Knights," Names of the, (*i.a.*) Norfolk, about the end of fifteenth century. Lansdowne MSS. 855.

- "The Names of the Burgesses of Lynn from 1440 to 1501."  
Norfolk Archæology, vol. vi. p. 216.
- "Gentlemen of, in 1578," List of. Fourth Report,  
Historical MSS. Commission, p. 217.
- "Names of 730 Gentlemen who lent money to the King in  
1604 under Privy Seal" Norfolk Archæology, vol. ii.  
p. 3.
- "The Names of those who objected to be Knighted on  
Coronation of the King, 1631." Norfolk Archæology,  
vol. v. p. 126.
- "Knights of Royal Oak." For list of Norfolk gentlemen  
proposed for this Order *see* "Appendix to Burke's  
Peerage."
- "Knighthood Compositions." Special Com. Exch. 6th  
Charles I., No. 5520.  
Special Com. Exch. 6th Charles I., No. 5521.  
Special Com. Exch. 7th Charles I., No. 5522.  
Special Com. Exch. 7th Charles I., No. 5523.
- "Gentry of Norfolk," List of. Seventh Report, Historical  
MSS. Commission, p. 195.
- "Extracts from the Diary of Peter Le Neve." Norfolk  
Archæology, ii. p. 23, iii. p. 369; also in "Topographer  
and Genealogist."
- "Gentry of Norfolk and Norwich," Notes on a Letter and  
Declaration of, to General Monk. Norfolk Archæology,  
vol. vii. p. 309.
- "Wills." Harleian MS. 10. Notes from the Norwich  
Registry by Simon D'Ewes.
- "Wills." Collections by John L'Estrange from the  
Norwich Registers, 4 vols. folio pp. In my library.  
Indexes Nominum to these are in progress, the first  
1467 pp. being completed.

WALTER RYE.

## Francis Blomefield.

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FRANCIS BLOMEFIELD the topographer, who was born at Fersfield on the 23rd July, 1705, was the son of Mr. Henry Blomefield of the same place, a gentleman of independent means, by his wife Alice, the daughter and heiress of John Batch of Lynn.

He was the fifth in descent from Henry Blomefield of Fersfield, and each of his four ancestors having married an heiress or coheiress, he was luckily the possessor of ample means with which to gratify his literary tastes. When only fifteen he began collecting material for his future work, and from 1720 to 1733 he records that he spent £175. 16s. in journeying about making church notes, and in buying some few MSS. He was educated at Diss and Thetford schools, and when under nineteen proceeded to the Norfolk college of Gonville and Caius at Cambridge on All Fools' Day, 1724. While at Cambridge he is said to have published a thin quarto, *Collectanea Cantabrigiensis*, but the only copy I have seen purports to have been printed at Norwich in 1750.<sup>1</sup> He took his B.A. degree in 1727, and was ordained deacon of [in?] the church of St. Giles in the Fields, London, on the 17th of March in the same year, the next year being licensed preacher by Dr. Thomas Tanner, the well-known antiquary and author of the *Notitia*. In July, 1729, he was ordained priest, and was immediately instituted Rector of Hargham, and two months later to his father's family living of Fersfield, which he held with it till January, 1730, when he resigned Hargham,

<sup>1</sup> 1751 in some copies, the figure 1 having been printed over the 0.

he had only held as a warming-pan for the Rev. John  
 the brother of the patron.  
 27th May, 1732, his father died, and on the  
 he married Mary, daughter of the Rev.  
 Womack, Rector of Caister by Yarmouth, and  
 heir of the Bishop of St. David's—one of a  
 had long been parsons of Blomefield's native  
 he had three daughters only, of whom only

1733, he began to put forward proposals for  
 which were very well received, Tanner, who  
 made Bishop of St. Asaph, especially en-  
 In the spring of 1735 he was recovering  
 fever, and had the rare treat of obtain-  
 the evidence-room of the late Earl of Yarmou-  
 the Paston family, at Oxnead, and  
 parchments for a fortnight. To him is due  
 the discoverer of the well-known  
 he describes as "innumerable letters of  
 in his history," and which he stowed away  
 in a heap containing several sac-  
 we know that these same Paston  
 hands of "Honest  
 himself of many of Blomefield's  
 that on this occasion  
 of "from the robber rending his  
 part of 1736 Blomefield had  
 was ready to begin his great  
 print it in his own house.  
 pe—apparently old and of  
 for his indexes are printed  
 another just as he had the  
 a year. His troubles were  
 endless, and to them

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 四、  
 五、

11-11-1964

UNITED STATES  
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

11-11-1964

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[illegible]



which he had only held as a warming-pan for the Rev. John Hare, the brother of the patron.

On the 27th May, 1732, his father died, and on the 1st September he married Mary, daughter of the Rev. Laurence Womack, Rector of Caister by Yarmouth, and cousin and heir of the Bishop of St. David's—one of a family who had long been parsons of Blomefield's native place. By her he had three daughters only, of whom only two survived.

In October, 1733, he began to put forward proposals for his *History*, which were very well received, Tanner, who had just been made Bishop of St. Asaph, especially encouraging him. In the spring of 1735 he was recovering from a violent fever, and had the rare treat of obtaining access to the evidence-room of the late Earl of Yarmouth, the head of the Paston family, at Oxnead, and lived among the parchments for a fortnight. To him is due the credit of being the discoverer of the well-known *Paston Letters*, which he describes as "innumerable letters of good consequence in history," and which he stowed away in a corner of the room in a heap containing several sacks full. It is a significant fact that these same *Paston Letters* afterwards came into the hands of "Honest (?) Tom Martin," and as we know that this unscrupulous topographer possessed himself of many of Blomefield's MSS. after his death, it may be that on this occasion his doing so was only a case of "from the robber rending his prey."

By the early part of 1736 Blomefield had come to the conclusion that he was ready to begin his great work, and that he would print it in his own house. He bought a press and some type—apparently old and of different and insufficient founts, for his indexes are printed in all sorts of type one after another just as he had them—and hired a workman at £40 a year. His troubles with his printers and engravers were endless, and to them was added the

temperary loss of the whole of his collections for *Diss Hundred*, which miscarried when sent to Tanner for approval and correction. Then a fire is said to have consumed his press and printing office and all the copies of his first volume, but I am inclined to think that the only fire was that in his study, to which he refers in his correspondence. However, he gradually kept on, and brought out number after number, and the work was so well received that he actually had to reprint his first part twice. His first folio volume was completed at Christmas, 1739, just after he had received the gift of the rectory of Brockdish. The accounts of Thetford, which formed part of his first volume, and of Norwich, which took up the whole of his second volume, were separately published in quarto and folio respectively. Norwich (913 pp. folio) was advertised by him separately at one shilling a number of eight sheets, and its publication extended over more than four years, the date of its completion being the 31st May, 1745.

He apparently took up his abode permanently at Norwich while his Norwich volume was in the press, so as to be on the spot of his labours. Directly he began to advertise his Norwich volume, Thomas Kirkpatrick, the brother of the well-known John Kirkpatrick, issued a counter advertisement in the local papers, complaining that Blomefield had been stating that whatever occurred in John Kirkpatrick's original collections would be incorporated in his work, and alleging that all such collections were in his custody, and that no one had ever copied a line of them.

To this Blomefield replied in a very temperate advertisement that he would show any one who would call on him at Fersfield, Tanner's, Le Neve's, and Kirkpatrick's collections, and added that the explanation was that Kirkpatrick always collected on loose papers, which, when he had transcribed them, he gave to Le Neve in exchange for anything Le Neve found about Norwich.

Blomefield was about half way through his third volume when he died, literally in harness, for, coming up to London to see some deeds in the Rolls Chapel, he caught the small-pox and died of it on Thursday, the 16th January, 1752, at the early age of forty-seven. It is said he had always refused to be inoculated, thinking it was wrong to attempt to avoid evils sent by his Creator. He was buried on the Saturday following, in the south side of the chancel of Fersfield Church. Little is known of his personal appearance, but though there is no portrait of him extant, he is said to have so much resembled John Flamsteed that "Honest Tom Martin" of Thetford preserved and valued a portrait of the astronomer for no other reason, and a copy of it is prefixed to the octavo edition of Blomefield. It is of a man with a good forehead, fine eyes under rather beetle brows, a prominent nose, and a firm mouth.

There seems no doubt that he died in debt, for by his will, dated shortly before he died, he directed all his personal property to be sold and applied towards payment of his debts, and the winding up of his estate seemed so formidable a matter to his executors that they declined to act, and renounced probate, so administration was granted to his two principal creditors. Whether his great work cost him more than he expected one cannot say, but one of his female relatives who lived to be very old, told Mr. Freeman, now living in St. Giles', Norwich, that he was very fond of fox-hunting, kept a pack of hounds, and got into difficulties thereby, and had to retire at Norwich, where he lived in Willow Lane.

That he was a Tory we know from his voting for Bacon and Wodehouse in 1734, and that he may have been of a jovial way of living may be supposed from his being a boon companion of Martin, who was notorious for his drinking capacity.

It is difficult to say whether he had collections for the

rest of the county on a similar scale to what he has printed. If he had they were not made much use of by the Rev. Charles Parkin, who, though a most incompetent man, was entrusted with the completion of the *History of Norfolk*, and who, according to Craven Ord, died before he sent any (all?) of his work to the press, the book being ultimately finished by some bookseller's hack employed by Whittingham of Lynn. I think that Blomefield probably worked on the principle of taking Le Neve's collections as the backbone of his history, and working up each parish as he came to it. Certain it is that in the five folio volumes there is vastly more of Le Neve's work than Blomefield's, and to the former, therefore, should more justly be given the credit of being the county historian of Norfolk. Indeed, if we were to analyze the book and eliminate Le Neve's, Tanner's, and Kirkpatrick's work, there would be very little of Blomefield's left. Some of Blomefield's unpublished MSS. were taken possession of and sold by Martin, who thus acted as the literary wrecker of two fine collections—Le Neve's and Blomefield's. Others of them passed into the hands of the descendants of one of Blomefield's daughters—a Mr. Robert Martin of Bressingham—who buried "a large mass of them in the earth" (!)

One can hardly estimate the real value of the great work which, rightly or wrongly, bears his name, and which, had he lived, would have been so much longer and better. It is full of errors, its descriptions of all buildings singularly scanty and bald, and its attempts at etymology ludicrous in the extreme, both Blomefield and his continuators apparently having "water" on the brain, for they attempt to derive nearly every place-name from some word or another which they allege to mean water. In critical faculty Blomefield was absolutely wanting, and he fell an easy victim to all the monstrous pedigree falsifications of the heralds, his pages chronicling as gospel all the ridiculous

family histories of the Howards, the Wodehouses, the Cleres, and others, which bear their own contradictions on their faces. Specimens of Blomefield's errors and omissions will be found at p. 318 of the third volume of the *East Anglian*, but another instance of his guesswork will suffice. Writing of Garboldisham (vol. i. p. 179, fo. ed.) he speaks of the inscription on the roof of the nave as running thus:—

“Betwix syn thys and ye Rode Loff

The yongling han payd for this cost,” &c.,

and adds “By which it appears that it was done at the charge of the parishioners soon after 1450, and that John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, who was then patron, would not assist them, for he must be the youngling here meant,” and goes on to read the inscription as reading “the youngling *han't* paid for this cost,” &c. Here we have several mistakes. First, youngling is assumed to be a young man, instead of the young men of the parish; secondly, “hav” is misread “han” or han't, a word unknown in our district; and thirdly, in identifying the John de Vere who was alive in 1450 with an imaginary “young man,” the fact of his being then forty-two years of age is altogether overlooked. Of course the meaning is that the young men of the parish paid for the work between a certain point and the rood-loft.

But criticising the work is like looking a gift horse in the mouth, for his book is an enduring monument of hard disinterested work, as it was wholly a labour of love, and as far as the facts chronicled it is usually very reliable. It is wonderful indeed how often the searchers of to-day come across Blomefield's private mark or his beautifully legible handwriting on charters or rolls, and one very good point in his character was the unselfish readiness with which he imparted his knowledge to others working in the same field. Except as a test to show how little he knew of heraldry

or pedigree work it would be hardly worth while to notice the suggested descent and arms he adopted in the pedigree of his family he published in his History. There he implies his descent from Sir Henry Broumflete alias Bromefilde, Knight, who lived in 1433, and bore the arms he assumed, viz., Sa., on a chev. or 3 branches of *broom* ppr., on a canton a spear's head . . . . embrued purp. Now these are practically the canting arms borne by *Broomfield* of Kent, and which were apparently kept by the heralds as a stock coat for any one who had anything like "Broom" in his name, for a family of Broome of Hereford had precisely the same coat granted them in 1670. Now the various coats ascribed to Broomfleete, though differing among themselves, have not the faintest resemblance to what the topographer and the Broomfilds bore. It is tolerably obvious, therefore, that when his first well-to-do ancestor cast about for a coat of arms nothing could be found for Blomefield, so he was given—or took—the "canting" coat of Broomfield as being the nearest that could be done for him, though it was wholly inapplicable. I do not know which of his ancestors first bore this coat, but I can easily understand that he felt some reluctance to abandon it after his forbears had used it for some years, though I can hardly think he could have overlooked the obvious derivation of his surname from that of de Blomevill, a Norfolk family of some note, which bore three lozenges in fess. The Bloumfields of Essex rightly or wrongly bore this coat afterwards, and so did the Bloomfields, Barons Bloomfield, in late years. The transition from Blomevill to Blomefield is a very easy one, and is borne out by the well-known example of Greenfield from Grenville; and in the Ashmolean MSS. we find the poems of one W. Bloomfield *alias* Blundyvill; while, if further probability were necessary to be shown, there were de Blomevylls landowners at Deopham in 10th Henry VI., a short time before the beginning of the topographer's

undoubted pedigree. But as in the well-known forged pedigree of Clere of Ormesby, a very reasonable and probable descent from an honourable family has been passed over for a wholly conjectural and absurd one from someone else.

W. R.

The following early letter of Blomefield's (for which I am indebted to Arthur Preston, Esq., of Norwich) has, I think, never been printed.

Fersfield Febr: 16: 1729:

Good Sr

29.2.

I am desired By our friend M<sup>r</sup>. Baldwin, to begg the fav<sup>r</sup> of you to Save him an odd Volume of the Quod libets of Duns Scotus, w<sup>ch</sup> is among M<sup>r</sup>. Le Neve's Books, M<sup>r</sup>. Baldwin hath the other 3 w<sup>ch</sup> he had out of M<sup>r</sup>. Cressner's Study, where M<sup>r</sup>. Neve had his, the odd one, being the same as to Binding, &c., w<sup>th</sup> M<sup>r</sup>. Baldwin's, "Impress Venetijs," ad Expensas et mandatum John de Colonia, &c. A<sup>o</sup>. 1477 (or) 1478. 'Tis the 4th vol. bound in board & coverd over w<sup>th</sup> white Leather & Printed in Double Columns, he thinks it is of no great use single & hearing you were ab<sup>t</sup> to Dispose of ye Books Late M<sup>r</sup>. Neves hope you will save it for him he being willing to allow w<sup>t</sup> y<sup>u</sup>. think reasonable, The Quiddendam Library is sold to M<sup>r</sup>. Thurlb<sup>urn</sup> of Cambridge. I shall be glad to hear of your coming down, intending to wait on you & return those things I have of y<sup>rs</sup> by me, & hope you will help me to a sight of M<sup>r</sup>. Le Neve's Coll<sup>l</sup>. for Diss hundred, and Cabr'ss (?). I have an old note by me, w<sup>ch</sup> informs me that there is a Pedigree on record in ye Heralds Office, in w<sup>ch</sup> there is much concerning the 2 old mots [monuments] in our church at Fersfield, they being put in y<sup>rs</sup> as belonging to the Howards or some family's that y<sup>r</sup> matched w<sup>th</sup> If opportunity & Leizure sh<sup>d</sup> offer, sh<sup>d</sup> be exceeding glad to hear something of it. I am good Sr

Yrs to com<sup>d</sup>

Francis Blomefield.

(Addressed) to Mr. Thomas Martin, Attorney-at-Law,  
at Segoe's Coffee House,

Holbourn, London.

# The Dutch Refugees in Norwich.<sup>1</sup>

BY

WALTER RYE.

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To write at length the history of the settlement in Norwich of the Dutch Refugees, in the reign of Elizabeth, and show how beneficial such settlement was to the city, would take more space than can be afforded here.

Such a work I contemplated years ago, and got together the material, which I now print in the appendices to this paper. Other pursuits have withdrawn my attention from the subject; but I think the rough material interesting enough to be preserved in type, for the use of anyone who may hereafter take in hand the task I have relinquished.

It is difficult to say, precisely, when the Dutch began to settle in Norwich. Blomefield's date of 1565 is obviously wrong,<sup>2</sup> for from the returns made to the Bishop (see Appendix V., p. 200) it is clear that the Dutch began to arrive not later than 1560, in which year six families are

<sup>1</sup> For a paper on the French or Walloon Settlers in Norwich, by Miss Toulmin Smith, see *Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany*, vol. ii. p. 91. For the very numerous mistakes which no doubt occur in the readings of the Dutch documents, surnames, &c., I must apologise to any Dutch reader, and simply plead "ignorance—pure ignorance" of the language as my excuse.

<sup>2</sup> I am disposed to think the date 1561, ascribed to the undated document printed in Appendix I., is wrong; and from internal evidence to consider it was used about the time as the letter of 1583 (Appendix IX.) On the other hand, the Duke of Norfolk, in his letter of 1565, asking that the Strangers might have a church, refers to "the like that was granted here in King Edward's days" (1547.—1553).



said to have come in.<sup>3</sup> Blomefield states (vol. iii. p. 282) that in 1565 the city, being in much distress by the decay of the worstead manufacture, which was now at so low an ebb that many were forced to leave the city; and that the mayor and sheriff and others of the city waited on the Duke of Norfolk, at his palace, and after advising with him, resolved to invite divers strangers of the Low Countries, which were then in London and Sandwich, and that thereupon the Queen gave her Letters Patent for the placing of thirty masters and three hundred servants, Dutch and Walloon. But it is clear, from the precise return, that this is wrong, for the Patent<sup>4</sup> itself is dated 5th November, 1565, and is apparently for the admission of thirty Dutchmen, their families, and servants—the total number of whom is not to exceed three hundred.

In 1565, indeed, the Dutchmen seem to have been so well established, that they applied to the Duke of Norfolk for a church, and he wrote to Archbishop Parker in their favour, stating that he had talked over their request unto the Bishop of Norwich and others in the city, who had satisfied him of their good order in religion<sup>5</sup> and of their honest conversation.

<sup>3</sup> The families arrived thus—1560	.	.	6
1561	.	.	19
1562	.	.	6
1563	.	.	2
1564	.	.	9
1565	.	.	9
1566	.	.	13
1567	.	.	311
1568	.	.	3
			<hr/>
			378

<sup>4</sup> Appendix II.

<sup>5</sup> A letter from Bishop Parkhurst, referring to his calling before him Thos. Bateman and Cornelius Vanderstad, two of the Strangers excommunicated at Sandwich by their minister there, and as to their being very willing to be restored to the church again, and humbly craving the benefit of absolution, is preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and printed in the *East Anglian*, vol. i. p. 60. Another of Parkhurst's letters, as to the Strangers, is in Bennet's College, Cambridge (see *Ib.*, vol. iii. p. 101).

The Letters Patent dated 5th November, 7th Elizabeth (1565), were sent by the Duke of Norfolk, who is said to have paid the expense of getting them to the Mayor of Norwich, Thos. Sotherton, to put in force. He called an assembly; but the Commons refused to allow the city seal to be put to the admission of any Stranger, so the court affixed the mayor's seal instead. Blomefield prints one of these admissions, which runs thus:—

“Thomas Sotherton, mayour of the city of Norwich, with the advice of his brethren the aldermen, according to the Queen's Majesty's letters patent, bearing date November 5th, in the 7th year of her Majesty's reign, do license John Powells estraunger (alien) to take to farm any house, messuage or rent within the city aforesaid, there to inhabit and dwell with his household and family, to use, exercise, make and work, as well all such commodoties as in the said letters patent been contained, as others not heretofore made or wrought within the said city, during the time of his good behaviour and obedience to such constitutions and orders as be now made, and hereafter shall be made, for the better governance of the said city, in witness whereof the said mayor to these presents have caused his seal of office to be put, the 1st day of June, &c., 8 Elizab.”

Twenty-four of the thirty masters were Dutch and six were Walloons. The names of the Dutch are given by Blomefield as follows:—

John Powells (John Paulus ?).

Geo. Van Exsham (Geo. Van Ixem ?).

John Garrett (Jeronimus Geraert ?).

Peter Janson (Peter Janss).

John de Rhooode (John de Rhet ?).

John Mychelles (Michiels ?).

Christian Vrinde (I can trace nothing like this. The only Christian is C. Verkin).

Gilberdi Vijscheers (Gisbert Vijscher ?).

John Brijninge.

Geo. Vramboute.

Romaine Debeche.

Frauncis Trian (Fras. Trion ?).

Frauncis Mysedome (Fras. Misdoin ?).

John Looten (John Letten ?).

Adrian Van Dorte.

Peter Frenin als. Vanbrughe (Peter Firmin ?. There was  
a *John Vanderburgge*).

Pascall Clarebote (Pascasius Claerrebout ?).

Tho. Bateman (Tho. Bateman).

Jerusalem Pottelleigh.

Mychel Desonnytte.

Francis Dedecre.

John Goose (Van der Goez ?).

Luois Spillebote (Lodowic Spilleboudt ?).

Wm. Steene (Wm. Stein ?).

It seems that these thirty masters had the church of St. Mary the Less at Tombland assigned them for the Hall, and certain ordinances were made for their government, which are printed by Blomefield, vol. iii. p. 283. The more important were :

That matters of controversy were to be tried by two of the Norwich aldermen specially deputed.

Strangers to be thereafter admitted were to be presented to such aldermen and to the mayor, and produce testimonials from their elders.

They were to pay all ordinary parish dues of 1*d.* in the 1*s.*

Not to buy or sell anything they did not make themselves. Nor to sell anything they did make except to their own people.

Certain customs and dues were to be paid to the city, viz. :—

Every Flemish cloth	. . . .	2 <i>d.</i>
Every whole bay	. . . .	2 <i>d.</i>
Every double say	. . . .	2 <i>d.</i>
Every double stamet	. . . .	2 <i>d.</i>

From 1560 to 1566 the numbers of families who came over seem to have been small, but in 1567 a very large

number—311—arrived. It was in this year that the mayor, Thomas Whalle, probably alarmed at the great fresh influx of the Strangers, tried to turn them out altogether, but failed to get a majority of the Court to agree with him. He succeeded, however, in getting certain offensive additions made to the ordinances, viz.:

That they should annually elect Governors to answer for the whole.

That they should not lodge any Strangers above one night without informing the mayor.

That they should not walk in the streets after the eight o'clock bell at St. Peter Mancroft had gone.

In 1568 (16th May) the Archbishop of Canterbury wrote to the Bishop of Norwich, with the string of queries as to the Strangers, which is printed on p. 199; and it is from the very ample replies made thereto, which I now print for the first time, that we get the most information as to who the Strangers were and whence they came.

The return as to the weak vessels at p. 219 is very amusing, especially as to Jasper Aert, "*ebrietati adeo addictus, ut ad potatiunculos potius quam ad pietatem natus videatur.*" The alliteration is amusing.

The number of married couples belonging to the

Congregation is given at . . . . .	314
Unmarried people over 17 . . . . .	193
Under 17 . . . . .	461
Children born in England . . . . .	112
Widows and Widowers . . . . .	52

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This would give a total of . 1132

Besides these there were others, specified on p. 226  
as not yet joined to the Church, in number <sup>6</sup> . . . 339

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Total . 1471

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Included in the same account is the Return for Lynn, and I have printed it at pp. 228—235. For another return for

<sup>6</sup> I can only make the figures add up to 249.

Lynn see Dom. S. P., Eliz., lxxviii. 11 and 12, and for Yarmouth, *id.*, No. 10.

In the next year (1569) Whalle, formerly mayor, and who, it will be remembered, had made himself offensive before to the Strangers, acquainted the Privy Council—probably untruly—that there were continual differences between the English and the Strangers. The Council probably wrote to Norwich enquiring as to the truth of these rumours, but the mayor and aldermen for the time being, however, seem to have been favourably disposed to the Strangers, as may be seen from their letter of the 16th November, 1569, to the Privy Council (printed in Appendix VI.), in which they explain what precautions they had taken to keep the peace, and shew themselves willing to receive more Strangers if allowed to do so.

On the 21st of the same month the Council wrote approving what they had done, and allowing those Strangers who were there already to stay, but not to receive any further number. On the 19th March, 1570, the Privy Council wrote another letter to the city in favour of the Strangers (Blomefield's *Norfolk*, vol. iii. p. 285), but by June the feeling of certain of the jealous traders of the city had grown so strong that a conspiracy against the Strangers was set on foot, generally known as "Appleyard's Conspiracy," though why I do not know, for John Appleyard,<sup>7</sup> though one of those hung for it, does not seem to be its head. It was to have begun on the 24th June, but came to nothing luckily, being betrayed by Thomas Kett, one of the late rebel's family.

It is noteworthy that the last dying speech and confession of one of the conspirators was the first document ever

<sup>7</sup> He was brother-in-law of the Earl of Leicester, being half-brother to Amy Robsart. He was not hung, as probably he knew too much, and his dying disclosures might have been unpleasant.

printed in Norwich, and that it was printed by one of these very refugees, Anthony de la Solempne.

The question of how the religious duties of the Strangers were to be carried on is set out fully by Blomefield, vol. iii. pp. 285 et seq., but is of little interest now. Fresh efforts were, however, made to bind the Dutchmen tighter as to their businesses, and on April 1st, 1571, a draft of a proposed *Book of Rules or Orders*, prepared at Norwich, were sent up by the city members to the Privy Council. It is clear, however, that the Strangers' interests were well looked after, for on the 10th April the Council referred the draft to Sir Walter Mildmay, to the Master of the Rolls, and to Sir Thomas Smith, who settled them in the form now printed (Appendix VII.) for the first time. They were more favourable than the rules, but still retained many objectionable restrictions, and especially that the Dutch "taylors and bottechers, shomakers and coblers," should only work for their own nation under penalties, and especially that if they worked for any gentleman or yeoman in the county they should also be exiled from the city. The Council sent them down to the mayor with the letter of the 25th April, 1571, also printed in the Appendix, p. 245. With the exception of more religious difficulties, during which the city seems to have arrogated to themselves an ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Strangers, and to have been duly snubbed therefor by the Archbishop, everything seems to have gone on smoothly from this point.<sup>8</sup>

So rapidly, indeed, did the feeling of the citizens change towards the Strangers, that in less than a dozen years—on 6th May, 1583—we find the mayor and aldermen writing to the council, setting out that for fifteen or sixteen years past their city had received no small benefit from the Strangers' artizans, whereby many ruinous houses were re-edified, the

<sup>8</sup> Later in this year (1571) from a census taken (Blomefield's *Norfolk*, vol. iii. p. 290) it seems the Dutch and Walloons numbered 3925.

city profited, the poor maintained by working, from begging—and begging that one Nicholas Wright, an informer, who was persecuting four of the chiefest master workmen, might have his informing career stopped. A paper ascribed by the compilers of the *Dom. State Paper Calendar*<sup>9</sup> to 1578, but which, I think, was very probably an enclosure to this last letter, is printed in Appendix VIII., and sets out, in detail, the benefits which the strangers have been to the city, *i.e.*, that they pay the city £400 a year for duties on their stuffs, that a house worth 40s. a year before they came was then worth £12 and £14, and so on. From this period the strangers soon began to merge with the citizens, and to thrive once more; and their subsequent history is one of successful trade.

Those who want to know more of them should consult Burns' *History of Protestant Refugees*, p. 196; an article in *Notes and Queries*, second series, vol. iv., p. 9; an Account of the Dutch Church at Norwich in *East Anglian*, vol. i. p. 91;<sup>1</sup> *Foreigners Resident in England*, Cam. Soc., 1862, pp. 18—24, for a list of residents in 1622. There are several MSS. relating to the Strangers in the Muniment-room of the Corporation of Norwich, *e.g.*:—

Closet No. 9, Letter C, lower shelf. Books relating to aliens and their manufactures:—

The first is a book containing rules for the Warrantie of Wool and other rules and regulations to be observed and conformed to, A.D. 1577. Inside this book are three documents, one of which is the appointment of William Fitz

<sup>9</sup> I also doubt the date (1561) given to the paper printed in Appendix I., which is much more likely to belong to this period, by which time the citizens began to appreciate their visitors.

<sup>1</sup> Also *Lansdowne MS.*, part 1, No. 27 (65), Mayor of Norwich to Treasurer, as to new draperies (1578); *Ib.*, No. 28 (25), complaint of London against Norwich stuffs (1579); *Ib.*, No. 44 (25), Mayor, for alnage of the new stuffs (1585).

Williams and George Delves to be aulnegers of this city, during the term of seven years, dated the 22nd Elizabeth, A.D. 1579.

Another is a bond of Danyell Skynner to be sealer of the New Hall, for honest and impartial conduct in that office, dated A.D. 1614; and the other document is the recommendation of persons to be inspectors of Worstead yarn, 1791.

The next contains entries of the various duties on articles manufactured from 1566 to 1589.

A book containing entries of aulnage and subsidie, on manufactures from 1580 to 1610.

Another book containing Dutch orders and rules to be observed and kept, A.D. 1582.

Page 158, drawer 28, No. 26, Dutch Church :—

An agreement between the mayor and the minister of the Dutch congregation, 1713.

Some years ago a man named J. L. White (more commonly known as Skeleton White), whose name was corrupted from de Witt, and who claimed that his ancestors had gone from Norwich to Worstead, and founded the Worstead trade there (!), was possessed, in some fiduciary capacity, of four documents relating to the Strangers, which he allowed me to note. As he is now dead, I may as well print my notes.

He said he had a curious wooden turned box, containing nine thin plates of wood, on which to hand round the consecrated bread. The registers, since some fire, had been kept by the Rev. W. F. Patteson, formerly of St. Helen's.

1. 13th April, 1716. [Deed now illegible and in two pieces.] Signature of Saml. Hasb . . . , Gaston Martineau,  
VOL. III.] o



David Miller, Corneles de Huyler, and others, probably the trustees for the time being, applying for a lease of some property.<sup>2</sup>

2. [Endorsed.] A license of Alienacon from the Richt Honorable Richard Bourke, Earle Clanricarde, to the Right Honorable Thomas (?), Earl of Suff. [Inside absolutely illegible.]

3. Five leaves of an old book, very dilapidated, Nos. 60, 61, and . . . , first dated 28th February, 1592, *e.g.* :—

“Ich Pr' Weynoot alias Ramus Kenne & belyde mits desen wel & denchdelick ontfangh' te hebben uit' de handen van Bondewijn de men & Pr. S'diere de voochde & osyfeders van de Weesen Wijlant Rojier Brad' de somme wel & tranwelick te rembourseen', &c.

Le xx' jour de mars, l'an de Grace 1592, Esont p'donat nous hommes polityques Guillaume Desbonnes, Christian Cornille, et Adrian de Leme personnellemēt comparu les taleurs de l'enfant de feu Guillaume Payelle ; afransir, Maximilian Durien et Jehan Le Febure les quels ont faict et passe une coule et Renseignemēt de tout ce entierement que est escheu' a Marye Payelle fille du dict Guillaume Payelle et la dicte fille a net et cler la femme des deux cent cinquaint livres quatre soulx et six deniers.

Les deniers reposants entre leurs mains on bien a leur appaichement en tesmoignage de verite mon signe icy mis.

Pr. Weynoot al's Ramus.

#### 4. Wet Eerwaarde Heeren Veel ge-achte Broeders in Christo.

Het is uw wet eerwaarde niet onbekent dat er Zeedert de Koniginne Elisabeth tyd alhier een Neederduytche Gereformeerde Kerk is opgerecht Die Vroome en Weldadige Koniginne ziende een groot getal vlugtelingen in dit Land gedreeven door de swaare en wreede vervolgingen van dem Hertog Alba in Vlaenderen begunstigde onze Stadt met een Kerk en te gelyk met verscheyde Priviligien door de welke verscheyde onder haar Fabriquen opgerecht hebbende een considerabel fortuyn aan haare Kinderen hebben nagelaaten so dat in dem beginne namentlyk in't Jaar 1562 alleenlyk op de vrywillige contributien tot de Kerk (?) twee Leeraren beroopen vierden Maar in't vervolg van tyd door uitsterven van veelen het getal der contribuantem vermindert synde resolverd de Kerken. [Remainder torn.]

<sup>2</sup> There is considerable property. Dr. Ghele, D.D., (Austin Friars, London) Swediah Embassy, preaches a sermon once a year, first in Dutch, then in English. He receives about £30 per annum for this.

No. 4 may be translated thus:—

Most Honourable Sirs, most honored Brothers in Christ:—

It is not unknown to you, most honorable Sirs, that since Queen Elizabeth's time there has been established here a Low Dutch Reformed Church. A great number of refugees having been driven into this country by the oppressive and cruel persecutions of the Duke of Alva in Flanders, the pious and beneficent Queen favoured our town with a church and several privileges, thanks to which many who had established manufactures during her reign were enabled to leave their children considerable fortunes, so that in the beginning, especially in the year 1562, two teachers were appointed to the church, maintained by voluntary contributions only; but as in the course of time the number of the contributors grew less through numerous deaths, the church has resolved to . . . . .

5.<sup>3</sup> Kerken van de geuniceerde Provinciën onzen onmagt van 't zelve te repareeren bekend te maaken. Het geene in die tyd gecollecteert wierd niet genoeg zynde om alre onkosten goed te maaken zo waaren wy verplicht onzen Predikant d' Heer Des Reaux zaliger te versoeken van zig met 32 Ponden Sterlings te vergenoegen in plaats van 45 waar op zyn euw in't jaar 1694 beroepen was geweest. Waar in zyn euw. bewilligde op conditie dat de Kerken raad Hem soude toestaan maar Eenmaal zondags te predschen. Het verval van de Huyren tot de Kerk belangende deed ons voor eenige jaaren aan onze meede Broeders d'Eerwaerde Kerkenraad van de Neder-duytche Kerk van Austins Friars te London onze Staat bekend maken de welke ons met een s'jaarlykai (?) subsidie van 5 Ponden begunstigt hebben en dit jaar vernw . . . . .nde onze meer dan gewoone uytgaven aan de armen. wel voornamentlyk dan het verlost van het grootse gedeelte van het Dak van onze kerk waar meede wytst het nyterste gewagt hadden zo gaven ze . . .nste Raad uw wel eerwaarde te schryven en onze . . . enwoordige staat bekend te maken niet twyfelende . . .nw wel eerwaarde zullen onzen toestand in consider . . . neemen. Wy verhoopen dan dat uw wel Eerwaer . . . ons een weynig hulp de welke wy in deeze omstan . . . van noode hebben niet zullen weygeren en wy . . . den Almaywgen God dat Hy uw wel Eerwaarde . . . we Persoonen Familien en beroye mag zegenen . . .nde met alle Respect.

Wel Eerwaarde Heeren Veel geachte Broeders in Christo.

Uw Eerwaarde Onder-danigste Dienaaren,

F. G. Durand, Eccl. Nor. Past.

Hendrich Smidt.

Friederich Frytag.

Benjamin Vooght.

Norwich, den 2nd September,

1744, O.S.

<sup>3</sup> Probably continuation of No. 4.

APPENDIX I.<sup>4</sup>**The benefitts Receyved by the Strangers in Norwich for the space of Tenne years.**

In primis they brought a grete comoditie thether viz. the makinge of bayes moccados grograynes all sorts of tusts [stuffs?] &c. w<sup>ch</sup> were not made there before whereby they do not only set on woorke their owne people but do also set on worke o' owne people w<sup>thin</sup> the cittie as also a grete number of people nere xx<sup>h</sup> myles aboute the cittie to the grete relief of the porer sorte there.

Item by ther meanes o' cittie is well inhabited and decayed houses re-edified and repaired that were in Rewyn and more wolde and now good rents paide for the same.

Item the marchants by their comodities have and may have grete trades as well w<sup>thin</sup> the realme as w<sup>thoute</sup> the realme being in good estimation in all plac<sup>e</sup>.

Item it cannot but be, wheras a number of peeple be, but the one Receyve comoditie of the other as well of the cittie as men of the contrie.

Item they be contributors to all paymt<sup>e</sup> as subcidies, taskes, watches, contribusions, mynisters wagis, &c.

Item o' owne people do practice and make suche comodities as the strangers do make whereby the youthe is set on worke and kept from idlenes.

Item they digge and delve a number of acres of grounde, and do sowe flaxe and do make it out in lynnene clothe w<sup>ch</sup> set many on worke.

Item they digge and delve a grete quantitie of grounde for rootes w<sup>ch</sup> is a grete succor and sustenance for the pore bothe for them selves as for all others of citie and contrie.

Item they lyve holy of them selves w<sup>thout</sup> o' charge and do begge of no man and do sustaine all their owne poore people.

And to conclude they for the most pte feare God and do diligently and laborously attende upon their severall occupac<sup>ions</sup> they obay all majistrates and all good lawes and ordynūces they lyve peaceable amonge them selves and towarde all men and we thinke o' Cittie happe to enioye them.

A. 61.

(Endorsed). The benefittes received in Norwich by  
havyng the strangers ther. [1561—pencil, modern.]

<sup>4</sup> Domestic State Papers, Eliz. vol. 20, No. 49.

## APPENDIX II.

LANSDOWNE MSS. VOL. 7, No. 81.

Letter Patent by which power and authority are granted to the Mayor, &c., of Norwich, to receive certain Dutchmen (to the number of thirty, with their families and servants) as Inhabitants of the City of Norwich, with authority to let to them dwelling houses, shops, of messuages and farms, for seven years or under. Also that John Powell, William Steane, Henry Clercke, Peter Vanbrughan, and Bartholomew Johnson, and others (householders), to the number of thirty, may lawfully inhabit the said City, and may exercise the faculties of making "bayes, arras, saies, tapisteri, meckades, stamens, Carsey," and other commodities, and upon occasion of their death or departure, their place may be taken by others of their own countrymen in like manner. And that the number of Dutchmen shall not at any time exceed 300. These same letters to continue in force until revoked. Westminster, 5 Nov., 1565.

## APPENDIX III.

Letters from the Duke of Norfolk to Archbishop Parker  
as to Strangers.<sup>6</sup>

My very Good Lord,

After my hearty commendations, since my coming home, the Strangers have been suters to me for my l'res to you, for having of a church, whereupon I talked with my Lord Bishop and others of the City, by whom I hear as well of their good order in religion, as also of their honest conversation, which I think my Lord Bishop hath certified you as well of that, as their desire in the having a church, wherein I pray you stand their good Lord; for here be churches eno' that be voyd, that upon your l'res to the Bp. and the Mayor they will take present order; and so wishing to your Grace as to myself, I bid you most heartily farewell. From my house at Norwich, this 28th of December, 1565, Your Grace's assuredly.

T. Norfolk.

Post script. I have put your Grace a note of the like that was granted here in King Edward's days.

After my hearty commendations to your Good Grace, this is to signify to the same that I have of very late written my l'res to my

<sup>6</sup> First printed in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, New Series, May, 1834, pt. 2, p. 373.

Lord Bishop, to grant unto the strangers a vacant church within the city, wherein I think they have some store, and have further requested his Lordship to know yr. pleasure and advice, whereby the citizens may be the sooner induced to their desire, and then his ordinary authority shall suffice to take order with them, as well for the form of their public prayers, as otherwise for the state of Religion and for their discipline, whereby that church may live in the more perfect quiet, wishing that they might be persuaded to recede as little as might be from common order of prayers and administration of the Sacraments used by authority in the Realm. And if hereafter any cause shall be for any further help of my partie it shall be ready at all times, as God knoweth, to whose merciful tuition I recommend your Grace as heartily as myself.

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#### APPENDIX IV.

##### Letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Bishop of Norwich, 1568.

[Printed from the 42 Articles Book, p. 136.]

S. in xpo. Whereas I haue receiued from the Quen's highnes a commaundemente by letters to ouersee all suche straungers as be comme into hir realme w<sup>th</sup>in this prouince who intendinge to repaire hether for satisfaction of theire conscience in christen religion accordinge to the order allowed in this realme, Yet muche doubt is made that emonge suche number diuerse more be infected Withe daungerous opinions contrarie to the faithe of christes church as annabaptistes and suche other sectaries and suche also as be doubted of to be giltye of somme horrible crime of rebellion murder robberies or suche like committid by them in the partes from whence thei came, to whiche kinde of peopell the Quenes maiesties meanethe in no wise to permitt eny refuge within hir dominions and yet gracioslie entendethe to geue protectiō as by hir letters pattens to all other suche as be knownen or commonlie reputed to be of christean conuersacion: Wherevppon in hir maiesties name and by hir commaundemente and auctoritie I do will and require youre L. witheoute delaye to make speciall and particuler visitacion and inquisition of Euerie parrishe Within your dioces Where suche be resident accordinge to the articles herein seueraullie set forthe and thervpon to cause perfecte registers to be made so to continewe and to be certifiède, and yf ye shall finde eny parsons suspected of the

foresaide crimes or otherwise that shall not be conformeable to suche order of religion as is agreable to the Lawes of the realme or as is permitted to sutch places speciallie appointed for the resorte of Straungers to the Exercise of religion in the vse of common prayer and in the sacramentes to geue aduertisements to the Quens Justices and ministers of Laye power to proceade speadelie to the triall of the saide crimes praienge yo<sup>r</sup> L. to vse sutch diligence heerein and in suche speade as you<sup>r</sup> Service therein maye contente the prince, be an occasion that the saide strangers maye haue the more peaceablie abidinge w<sup>th</sup>in this realme to the comforte of hir naturale subiectes and this I bid yo<sup>r</sup> L. well to fare as my selfe

From my house at Lambethe the xvj<sup>th</sup> of Maye [1568 ?]

#### ARTICLES.

1. ffirste ye shall enquire of the number howe meny persons beinge straungers borne as well mene as wemen and children are dwellinge and are resident and abidinge within the seueraule perrishes of yo<sup>r</sup> dioceise of what nature thei be.

2. Item ye shall enquire what number be appointed by the Licence and graunte of the quenes mai<sup>ties</sup> Letters pattens to vnderstand of the numbers.

3. Item howe Longe euerie of them haue bene abidinge theare and what the names of euerie of them are and abouthte what time euerie one of them came ffirste hether and what were the causes of their repaire hether.

4. Item of what trade Liuinge or occupacion thei be of and howe manye of them are vehementelie suspected of euill Liuinge or to be setters forward or fauourers of any nawghtie religion or secte.

5. Item whether thei do resorte to theirre parrishe churches to heare diuine seruice and do receiue the sacramentes as other of the parrishioners do or are bounde to Doo.

6. Item howe manye of them absente themselues from the saide seueraule perrishe churches and what ther names be.

7. Item howe manye of them resorte to there Churches appointed for Straungers in the Citie.

8. Item what manner of ministers readers or other sutch ecclesiasticall peons be emonge them howe thei Liue and teache in what sinceritie of doctrine and concorde of christean charitie.

The next letter in this collection is dated 19 June, 1568.

See the *Zurich Letters*, vol. i. p. 256, as to disturbances among the Dutch at Norwich.

## APPENDIX V.

[Being a Return made in consequence of the last letter.]<sup>c</sup>

**Nomina et Cognomina** Concionatoris, Seniorum Diaconorum et aliorum fratru. cum illorum Doctrina conversacione, occupacionibus Mechanicis, opificijs et Natalibus locia. Et quibus de causis ex illis fuerint profugi, quoq; tempore ad hoc Illustrissimu. Anglie Regnu. peruenerint et de priuilegijs et numero a Regia. maiestate concessis illis qui ad Ciuitatem Norwici remigrarunt.

## IN CIUITATE NORWICI.

Nicholaus Thuijs cum vxore mercator ex Zelandia venit in Angliam Anno Dni. Millimo Quingen<sup>mo</sup> Sexagesimo septimo infantes habet duos et unam ancillam.

Johannes Delfte cum vxore, calcearius, duos habet Infantes, ex Flandria venit in Angliam, anno Dni. Millimo Quingentesimo Sexagesimo septimo.

Jodokus Queke nauta ex Flandria cu. vx. venit in Angliam Anno Dni. millimo Quingen<sup>mo</sup> Sexagesimo septimo.

Gerardus Janes tabellarius cum vxore que illi duos genuit in Anglia liberos ex Frisia venit in Anglia Anno dni. Millimo Quingen<sup>mo</sup> Sexagesimo quint.

Jodocus Bominen cum vxore, textor, ex Flandria venit in Angliam Anno dni. Millimo Quingentesimo Sexagesimo septimo.

Gisbertus Visscher cum vxore, sartor, cui unus in Anglia natus est infans, venit ex Superiori Brabantia in Angliam Anno Dni. Millimo Quingen<sup>mo</sup> Sexagesimo sext.

Carolus Cabellian cum vxore, textor, duos habet infantes, quorum alter in Anglia alter in Flandria natus est, in Angliam ex Flandria venit Anno dni. Millimo Quingentesimo Sexagesimo quint.

Adrianus Sabellan iuuenis, lanificus, ex Flandria in Angliam venit Anno dni. Millimo Quingen<sup>mo</sup> Sexagesimo septimo.

Franciscus Michiels cum vxore, textor, et cum sorore venit in Angliam ex Flandria Anno dni. Millimo Quingen<sup>mo</sup> Sexagesimo septimo.

Anna Gomerspach, filia lanifica Coloniensis, venit in Angliam ex Flandria Anno dni. Millimo Quingen<sup>mo</sup> sexagesimo sexto.

<sup>c</sup> I have not had the opportunity of checking the copy of this MS. with the original, and must distinctly disclaim any responsibility for the numerous errors I fear the transcriber (now dead) has made.

Johannes Hillius, lanificus, cum vxore quæ illi in Anglia genuit infantulum venit ex Flandria huc Anno Dni. Mill'mo Quingenmo lxxij°.

Anthonius de Jonchee, lanificus, cum vxore ex Superiori Brabantia venit in Angliam Anno Dni. Millimo Quingen<sup>mo</sup> Sexagesimo septimo.

Maximilianus de Bat, lanificus, cum vxore venit ex Flandria in Angliam Anno dni. Millimo Quingen<sup>mo</sup> Sexagesimo septimo.

Simon Janss cum vxore et quinque pueris venit in Angliam ex Zelandia, mercator, Anno Dni. Millimo Quingentesimo Sexagesimo septimo.

Katherina Boorels vidua cum duobus pueris venit ex Zelandia in Angliam Anno dni. Millimo Quingentesimo Sexagesimo septimo.

Jeronimius Wale, lanificus, cum vxore venit in Angliam Anno dni. Millimo Quingentesimo Sexagesimo Septimo ex Flandria.

Jacobus de Catoore cum vxore et quinque pueris venit in Angliam ex Flandria lanificus Anno dni. Millimo Quingen<sup>mo</sup> Sexagesimo septimo.

Simon Va. Dale, figulus, cum vxore et duobus pueris venit ex Brabantia in Angliam Anno Dni. Millimo Quingen<sup>mo</sup> Sexagesimo septimo.

Johannes Victor, lanificus, cum vxore venit in Angliam Anno dni. Millimo Quingentesimo Sexagesimo septimo ex Flandria.

Daniell Zoreet, lanificus, cum vxore et duobus pueris venit in Angliam Anno dni. Millimo Quingentesimo Lxxij° ex Flandria.

Petrus Coornhouse, lanificus, cum vxore et tribus pueris venit in Angliam Anno Dni. Millimo Quingen<sup>mo</sup> Lxxij° ex Flandria.

Simon de Heem, lanificus, cum vxore et tribus pueris in Angliam venit Anno dni. Millimo Quingen<sup>mo</sup> Lxxij° ex Flandria.

Johannes Verport cum vxore quæ illi in Anglia infantulum genuit, lanificus, venit huc Anno dni. Millimo quingen<sup>mo</sup> Lxxij ex Flandria.

Carolus de Beer, lanificus, cum vxore venit in Angliam ex Flandria Anno Dni. Millimo Quingentesimo sexagesimo septimo.

Christianus Baelde, lanificus, cum vxore venit in Anglia ex Flandria Anno dni. Millimo Quingen<sup>mo</sup> Sexagesimo Septimo. Alit infantulum et filiam.

Wilhelmus de Punt, lanificus, cum vxore et quatuor adolescentibus in Angliam venit ex Flandria Anno dni. millimo Quingen<sup>mo</sup> Lxxij°.

Jacobus de Slaper, lanificus, cum vxore venit ex Flandria in Angliam Anno Dni. millimo Quingentesimo Sexagesimo septimo.

Mattheus de Lange, lanificus, cum vxore et quatuor pueris venit in Angliam Anno Dni. Millimo Quingen<sup>mo</sup> Sexagesimo septimo.

Magister Johannes Crucuis cum vxore ex Flandria venit in Angliam Anno dni. Millimo Quingen<sup>mo</sup> Sexagesimo septimo.



Vincentius Pleckere, textor, cum vxore et tribus pueris, quoru vnus in Anglia natus est, cum matre venit in Angliam Anno dni. Millimo Quingen<sup>mo</sup> Sexagesimo septimo ex Flandria.

Nicholaus Vligere, textor, cum vxore, quæ illi in Angliam infantulu genuit, venit ex Flandria in Angliam Anno dni Millimo Quingen<sup>mo</sup> Sexagesimo septimo.

Nicholaus Vander Gauwe, calcearius, cum vxore et duobus pueris ex Holandia huc venit Anno dni. Millimo Quingentesimo Sexage<sup>mo</sup> septimo.

Michael de Smedt viduus, lanificus, cu puero venit in Angliam ex Flandria Anno Dni. Millimo Quingen<sup>mo</sup> Sexagesimo quarto.

Hubertus Richins, textor, cum vxore in Angliam venit ex Flandria Anno dni. millimo Quingen<sup>mo</sup> Sexagesimo septimo.

Petrus Quek, lanificus, cum vxore et duobus pueris ex Flandria huc venit Anno Millimo Quingen<sup>mo</sup> sexagesimo septimo.

Guellemis Steen, lanificus, cum vxore et quinq Liberis ex Flandria huc venit Anno dni. Millimo Quingen<sup>mo</sup> Sexagesimo quinto.

Johannes Paulus ex Flandria, studiosus, venit huc Anno Millimo Quingen<sup>mo</sup> Sexagesimo tertio.

Clemens Buen, lanificus, cum vxore et puero huc ex Flandria venit Anno Millimo Quingen<sup>mo</sup> lxxvj<sup>o</sup>.

Nicholaus Victor cum vxore et infantulo ex Flandria huc venit Anno Millimo Quingen<sup>mo</sup> Lxxvj.

Vincentius Vandes Crime, calcearius, cum vxore et duobus pueris ex Flandria in Angliam venit Anno dni. Millimo Quingen<sup>mo</sup> Sexagesimo septimo.

Franciscus Audries, sartor, cum vxore et quinq pueris, quorum vnus hic natus est, ex Zelandia in Angliam venit Anno 1567.

Cornelis Duwelaer, sartor, cum vxore et infantulo ex Zelandia huc venit Anno dni. 1567.

Lucas Benoot, textor, cum vxore et quatuor liberis, quorum vnus in Anglia natus, ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Pierona Vanden Zande vidua cum quinq liberis ex Flandria huc venit in Angliam anno dni. Millimo Quingentesimo Sexagesimo primo.

Oliuerus Cimelies faber cum tribus adolescentib; ex Flandria huc venit Anno dni. 1567.

Jacobus Rolier, pileorum factor, cum vxore et quatuor pueris venit ex Flandria Anno 1567.

Hendricus Ricsanert calcearius cum vxore ex Zelandia huc venit Anno 1567.

Godfridus Hawle lanificus cum vxore, quæ illi infantulu. in Anglia genuit, cum matre et quinq pueris venit ex Flandria in Angliam Anno 1566.

Franciscus Briele lanificus cum vxore et duobus pueris ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Baltazar Heckinck lanificus cum vxore cum tribus liberis, quorum vnus in Anglia natus est, ex Superiori Brabancia venit huc anno Dni. 1566.

Johannes Ardaen textor cum vxore et duobus pueris, quorum alter in Anglia natus est, ex Flandria in Angliam venit Anno 1564.

Gabriel van Bamuchone lanificus cum vxore tribus adolescentibus duabus ancillis duobus famulis et vidua Joanna appellata cum duabus famulis venit in Angliam ex Flandria anno 1567.

Anthוניus Paakes lanificus cum vxore et duob; adolescentibus ex Flandria in Angliam venit anno 1567.

Paulus Coene faber cum vxore et quinq pueris ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Pieter Meere lanificus cum vxore et ancilla ex Brabantia huc venit anno 1567.

Johannes Fyntincke magister puerorum cum vxore et vno infantulo in Anglia nat. et ancilla ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Petrus de Wols nobilis cum vxore et tribus pueris cum seruo et tribus ancillis ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Maria Sinck vidua ex Flandria venit in Angliam Anno dni. 1561.

Carolus Rickewaert lanificus cum vxore et duabus filiabus venit in Angliam ex Flandria Anno 1567.

Egidius de Vinck cum vxore, lanificus, in Angliam venit ex Flandria Anno Dni. 1567.

Henricus Grouwel textor cum vxore cum tribus pueris in Anglia nat. ex Superiori Brabantia in Angliam venit anno 1564.

Carolus Vinersh faber cum vxore et sorore ex Flandria in Angliam venit Anno Dni. 1567.

Erasmus Wingaert lanificus cum vxore ex Flandria venit Anno 1567.

Jooris Vrambondt lanificus cum vxore in Anglia venit Anno 1565 ex Flandria.

Cornelius Willeins lanificus cum vxore ex Brabantia huc venit Anno 1567.

Johannes Ludman lanificus cum vxore et tribus juvenibus ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Erasmus Top lanificus cum vxore et tribus liberis ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Egidius Verbeek cum vxore et quatuor pueris ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Petrus Firmin lanificus cum vxore et sex pueris, quorum vnus in Anglia natus est, ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1564.

Carolus Valckenaie textor cum vxore et infantulo ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Arnoldus Crucius textor cum vxore ex Brabantia huc venit Anno 1566.

Jacobus de Voldere lanificus cum vxore et quatuor pueris, quorum vnus in Anglia natus est, ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Arnoldus Petrihyens lanificus cum vxore et quinque pueris, quorum vnus in Anglia natus est, venit ex Flandria in Angliam Anno 1567.

Arnoldus Otte textor cum vxore et puero et *Petro Hagheman* viduo venit in Angliam Anno 1567 ex Flandria.

Maximilianus Benāt lanificus cum vxore venit ex Flandria huc Anno dni. 1567.

Georgius Berhondt faber cum vxore et tribus pueris ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Maria Puntz vidua, lanifica, cum tribus iuuenibus ex Flandria venit huc Anno 1567.

Carolus van Honck faber cum vxore ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Simon Eyns textor cum vxore et pueris venit ex Flandria Anno 1567.

Johannes Cozaert textor viduus cum puero huc venit ex Flandria Anno 1567.

Johannes de Vos textor cum vxore ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Lodouicus Heckins textor cum vxore ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Hugo de Quene fullo cum vxore et quatuor pueris ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Robertus Goesens faber lignarius cum vxore et tribus pueris, quorum vnus hic natus est, ex Brabantia huc venit Anno 1567.

Jacobus Berthin faber cum vxore et quinque liberis venit ex Brabantia. Huc venit Anno 1567.

Amantus Oyens sartor cum vxore et puellula in Anglia nat. ex Brabantia huc venit anno dni. 1567.

Johannes Conheraert lanificus cum vxore et duobus pueris, quoru.

alter in Anglia natus est, cum tribus fratribus Decimu. septim. annum superantibus ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Jeronimus Geraert lanificus cum vxore et pueris in Anglia natis huc ex Flandria venit Anno dni. Millimo Quingen<sup>mo</sup> lxxvj<sup>o</sup>.

Anthonius Rabat bibliopola cum vxore et infantulo in Anglia nato ex Flandria huc venit Anno Dni. 1567.

Laurentius Hoost lanificus cum vxore et quinq pueris nat. vno except. in Anglia, ex Flandria huc venit Anno Dni. 1561.

Erasmus Coreet et Mallartus Roossee juvenes textores huc venerunt ex Flandria Anno dni. 1567.

Palamides Hallewin textor cum vxore cu. infantulo hic nat. huc venit Anno 1566.

Johannes de Wovrin faber viduus cum juvenibus quinq ex Flandria in Angliam venit Anno 1567.

Franciscus Blondel lanificus cum vxore et quatuor pueris, quoru. vnus in Anglia natus est, ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Oliuerus Vanden Castele lanificus cum vxore et puero venit ex Flandria in Angliam Anno 1567.

Vidua Joannis Odent lanifica cum quinq pueris, vno excepto in Anglia nat., venit in Angliam Anno Dni. 1561.

Matheus Vrombondt lanificus cum vxore in Angliam venit anno Dni. 1561.

Nicolaus Caneel textor cum vxore ex Flandria in Angliam venit Anno 1567.

Jeronimus Snock mercator cum vxore et infantulo hic nato ex Brabancia huc venit Anno Dni. 1567.

Katherina Vandengoes vidua ex Brabantia huc venit Anno Dni. 1567.

Jacobus Lambrecht lanificus cum vxore et tribz liberis et ancilla ex Flandria huc venit Anno Dni. 1567.

Jan Rochus sartor cum vxore et tribus pueris et vno in Anglia nat. huc venit Anno 1567 ex Zelandia.

Elizabetha Zander cum tribus sororibus, puellæ excedentes ann. decm. sextum, ex Flandria huc venerunt Anno 1567.

Georgius Hugebaert lanificus cum vxore et sex pueris, quorum vnus in Anglia natus est, cum ancilla ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Nicholaus Wemaere viduus lanificus cu. tribus pueris, quorum vnus in Anglia natus est, cum ancilla et fratre huc venit Anno 1567.

Jaques Gallant faber cum vxore ex Flandria huc venit anno dni. 1567.

Johannes Goosen lanificus cum vxore et filia et ancilla ex Flandria huc venit anno 1564.

Johannes Brinnuck viduus cum ancilla ex Superiori Brabantia huc venit anno 1566.

Lancelotus Meijs textor cum vxore et duobus pueris ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Egidius Stichgetbondt textor cum vxore et puellula ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Johannes Vellekens lanificus cum vxore et infantulo hic in Anglia nat. venit ex Flandria huc Anno 1567.

Georgius Carpinter lanificus cum vxore et infantulo hic nat. et ancilla ex Flandria venit Anno Dni. 1567.

Anthonijs Van Steen lanificus cum vxore et sorore ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Carolus de Coninc textor cum vxore et . . . . venit in Angliam Anno dni. 1567.

Arnoldus Holem calcearius cum vxore et sex pueris, quorum vnus hic natus est, ex Brabantia venit anno 1567.

Gomes Romondts faber lignarius cum vxore et quatuor liberis, quorum vnus hic natus est, venit ex Brabantia anno 1567.

Petrus Prijs lanificus cum vxore et infantulo ex Brabantia huc venit anno 1567.

Egidius Vanden Brouck textor cum vxore et duobus pueris, quorum alter hic natus est, venit ex Flandria huc Anno Dni. 1567.

Adrianus De Vos textor cum vxore et infantulo hic nat. ex Flandria venit 1567.

Romanus Van de Vinere textor cum vxore et tribus pueris ex Flandria venit huc anno 1567.

Johannes Deuwle viduus lanificus cum septem pueris, quorum vnus in Anglia natus est, ex Flandria venit huc 1567.

Johannes Cacant faber lignarius cum vxore et duobus pueris, quorum vnus hic natus est, cum seruo huc ex Flandria venit anno 1567.

Hybertus vander Heyden lanificus cum vxore et puero ex Brabantia huc venit anno 1567.

Maria Boechelious vidua et lanifica cum tribus pueris ex Flandria huc venit Anno dni. 1562.

Margareta Dericſ vidua ex Zelandia huc venit Anno dni. 1567.

Henricus van Lieren cum vxore ex Brabantia huc venit Anno dni. 1567.

Petrus Glous textor cum vxore et infantulo ex Flandria huc venit Anno dni. 1567.

Johannes van Roosekek sartor cum vxore et quatuor pueris ex Flandria venit huc 1567.

Johannes Daming bañlus cum vxore et infantulo hic nat. venit huc anno 1567.

Gualtherus Grouterius mercator cum vxore et quatuor liberis cum ancilla ex Brabantia huc venit anno 1567.

Adrianus Petri cum vxore ex Brabantia huc venit Anno dni. 1567.

Victor de Krekeele lanificus cum vxore et infantulo ex Flandria huc venit anno 1567.

Sigerius Wittrobrongel lanificus cu. vxore et duobus pueris, quorum vnus hic natus est, venit huc ex Flandria 1567.

Nicholaus Reiner lanificus cum vxore et duobus pueris ex Flandria huc venit anno 1567.

Petrus de Obilde lanificus cum vxore ex Flandria huc venit Anno dni. 1567.

Jacobus Senten cum vxore ex Flandria huc venit Anno dni. 1567.

Adrianus de Portere mercator cum vxore, fratre, et sorore in Angliam ex Brabantia venit Anno 1567.

Victor van de Wakk lanificus cum vxore et quatuor adolescentibus ex Flandria venit huc anno dni. 1567.

Wulphangus Tenuale cum vxore et filia ex Flandria venit Anno dni. 1567.

Daniel Walweyn lanificus cum vxore et duobus pueris et ancilla ex Flandria huc venit Ao. 1567.

Thomas Willemo lanificus cum vxore et duobus pueris, quorum vnus hic natus est, ex Flandria venit huc cum ancilla anno 1567.

Johannes Langedull et Maximillianus van Dame mercatores huc venerunt anno dni. 1567.

Jacobus Grendlee lanificus cum vxore filio adolescente et ancilla et seruo ex Flandria venit huc Anno 1567.

Michael Clinckett fullo cum vxore et filia ex Flandria huc venit Anno dni. 1567.

Franciscus Smidt sartor cum vxore et puero hic nato venit in Angliam ex Flandria Anno Dni. 1567.

Jacobus de Smidt fullo cum vxore et puero hic nat. et fratre ex Flandria huc venit 1567.

Lodouicus Spillebondt fullo cu. vxore et duobus pueris hic nat. ex Flandria venit huc Anno Dni. 1561.

Georgius van Hieley calcearius cum vxore cum duobus pueris, quoru. alter hic natus est, ex Flandria huc venit 1561.

Johannes Camerlins iuuenis ex Flandria huc venit anno dni. 1567.

Matthijs Moequaert sartor cum vxore ex Brabantia huc venit anno 1567.

Bartholomeus Janes faber cum vxore et quinq pueris, quorum vnus hic natus est, ex Hollandia huc venit anno 1566.

Jacobus Euerates faber viduus ex Zelandia huc venit anno dni. 1567.

William de Smedt faber cum vxore et puero ex Flandria huc venit anno dni. 1567.

Johannes Smalbeen fullo viduus cum ancilla ex Flandria huc venit anno 1566.

Johes de Hunsere textor cum vxore ex Flandria huc venit anno 1567.

Walphangus de Wilde iuuenis fullo ex Flandria huc venit anno 1567.

Hæ sunt Puellæ superantes ann. decimu. sextu. Johanna Mocq, Margareta Mocq, Johanna Dodus, Katherina Godschaltq, et Margareta Godschaltq. Venerunt ex Flandria huc Anno dni. 1567.

Anthonius de Pottere tinctor cum vxore et quatuor pueris, quorum vnus hic natus est, et duabus sororibus ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Johannes de Herne lanificus cum vxore et puero hic nat. et ancilla ex Flandria Anno 1561.

Jacobus Baelde lanificus cum vxore et puero venit ex Flandria huc Anno 1567.

Johannes Vlamincke lanificus cum vxore et tribus pueris ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1565.

Petrus Wante lanificus cum vxore et sorore ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Wilhelmus Keyser lanificus cum vxore et sex pueris, quorum vnus hic natus est, cu. ancilla ex Brabantia huc venit anno 1567.

Georgius Van Ixem lanificus cum vxore et quinq pueris, quoru. tres in Anglia nati sunt, cum ancilla ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1561.

Franciscus Priem lanificus cum vxore et puero et duabus ancillis ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Adrianus Walweyn mercator cum vxore ex Flandria huc venit cum ancilla Anno 1567.

Maria Ruphellq lanifica puella ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Romanus Seloos pictor cum vxore ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Bartholomeus Maughage lanificus cum vxore et filia ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Jacobus Buskine lanificus cum vxore et tribus pueris duobus seruis et ancilla ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Jacobus de Pape lanificus cum vxore et duobus pueris, quorum vnus hic natus est, ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Michael Hayert lanificus cum vxore et duobus filiabus ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Aristoteles Questier textor cum vxore et filio ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Franciscus Guyson cum vxore et duobus pueris et sorore et ancilla ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Jacobus Elias calcearius cum vxore et infantulo huc venit Anno 1567.

Johannes de Keyser textor cum vxore et quinq; adolescentibus ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Cornelius Vandstadt faber lignarius cum vxore et puero hic nato ex Flandria huc venit 1564.

Daniell Lindeman cum vxore et puero hic nat. ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Franciscus Dehedere lanificus cum vxore et duobus pueris ex Flandria huc venit Ao. 1567.

Andreas Terlinc lanificus cum vxore et puero hic nat. ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Joannes De Turke lanificus cum vxore et quatuor pueris, quorum vnus hic natus est, ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Leonardus Terlinc lanificus cum vxore et quinq; pueris ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Baudevoñ Jacobj cum vxore et puero ex Brabantia huc venit Anno 1567.

Jasparus Mathijs mercator cum vxore ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Liminis de Voz calcearius cum vxore ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Carolus Herman lanificus cum vxore et tribus pueris in Anglia natis ex Flandria venit huc 1560.

Catherina Beaugrant vidua lanifica cu. tribus pueris, quorum vnus in Anglia natus est, ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1566.

Jacobus Case et Anthonius de Heen iuvenes lanifici ex Flandria duo huc venerunt Anno 1566.

Joannes Verelest lanificus cum vxore [et] quinq; liberis, quorum duo hic nati sunt, ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1566.



Joannes Brunell lanificus cum [et] vxore tribus adolescentibus ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Johannes Letten lanificus cum vxore et filiolo et seruo ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Gherardus Plateau lanificus cum vxore et puero hic nato ex Flandria huc venit anno 1567.

Vidua Johannis Denijs ex Flandria huc venit Anno dni Millesimo Quingentesimo Lxviij<sup>o</sup>.

Thomas Van Hone sartor cum vxore et puero et patre ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Martinus Coquens lanificus cum vxore tribus pueris et duabus ancillis et duobus seruis ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Laurentius Vos lanificus cum vxore huc venit ex Brabantia Anno 1567.

Arnoldus Hendric<sup>q</sup> lanificus cum vxore et filia ex Brabantia huc venit Anno 1567.

Johannes Corneles tinctor cum vxore et tribus pueris, quorum vnus hic natus est, et ex Zelandia huc in Angliam venit 1567.

Hendricus Ozel mercator cum vxore et duobus iuuenibus et ancilla ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Joannes Bateman mercator cum vxore et duobus pueris et ancilla ex Flandria huc venit 1567.

Jacobus de Crocke lanificus cum vxore et duobus pueris ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Johannes de Hase fullo cum vxore et quatuor pueris ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Bernardus Van Deyneer mercator cum vxore et quatuor pueris, quorum vnus hic natus est, ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Cornelius de Ram tabellarius cum vxore et duobus pueris ex Zelandia huc venit 1567.

Nicholaus Nicolaij faber cum vxore ex Zelandia huc venit Anno 1567.

Petrus Pauwles mercator cum vxore et tribus pueris cum vidua et filia ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Joannes Van Vinen mercator cum vxore et quatuor adolescentibus ex Flandria anno 1567.

Joannes Bekaert agricola cum vxore et puero ex Flandria huc venit Anno Dni. 1567.

Leonardus Dhooring minister cum vxore duobus liberis et sorore ex Flandria huc venit Anno Dni. 1567.

Nicholaus Brabant faber iuuenis ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Anthonius de Drooge lanificus cum vxore et duobus pueris ex Flandria huc venit 1567.

Cornelius Van Hille bibliopola cum vxore et puero ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Petrus Jass bibliopola cum vxore et puero hic nat. et ancilla ex Zelandia huc venit 1562.

Joannes Nuns (? Mins) lanificus cum vxore puero hic nat. duabus filiabus ex Flandria huc venit 1563.

Maria Christophori vidua cum duabz filiabus ex Flandria venit huc 1564.

Joannes Aelman senex ex Flandria huc venit Anno dni. 1567.

Mr. Georgius Dekast juvenis in Angliam ex Flandria venit 1567.

Franciscus Trion lanificus cum vxore et duobus pueris in Anglia natis ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1564.

Romanus \* De Baker lanificus cum vxore et duobus adolescentibus et ancilla ex Flandria huc venit 1567.

Johannes Caret lanificus cum vxore ex Flandria venit huc 1562.

Joānes Staesen lanificus cum vxore ex Flandria in Angliam venit 1567.

Sabasteanus Scillevbaert textor cum vxore et tribus pueris natꝑ in Anglia ex Flandria in Angliam venit 1562.

Nicholaus Menes textor cum vxore et duobus pueris in Anglia natꝑ venit huc Anno 1567 (1ꝑ)

Andreas Lauderycke textor cum vxore venit ex Flandria huc Anno 1567.

Wilhelmus Van Wale lanificus cum vxore et puero hic nat. ex Flandria venit in Angliam Anno Dni. 1567.

Elizabetha Juras vidua cum duobus pueris ex duabus puellis ex Flandria venit huc Anno 1566.

Pascasius Claerrebont lanificus cu. vxore et duobus pueris hic natis, in Angliam ex Flandria venit Anno 1561.

Joannes De Roode lanificus cum vxore et duobus pueris in Anglia nat. venit ex Flandria Anno 1561.

Jodoca Hadckꝑ vidua lanifica ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1561.

Willmus Wallaert textor cum tribus sororibus venit in Angliam ex Flandria 1567.

Petrus Bendle textor cum vxore venit ex Flandria in Angliam 1567.

Joannes Jacke juvenis venit ex Flandria in Angliam 1567.

Victor Le Mere sartor cum vxore et tribus pueris ex Flandria venit huc Anno 1567.

\* See a mention of him in *East Anglian*, vol. i. p. 60, dated 1566.

Clara Mentz vidua cum duabus filiabus ex Flandria venit in Angliam 1567.

Willmus Van Hunke juvenis lanificus cum matre [et] ancilla ex Flandria venit in Angliam Anno dni. 1567.

Johannes Hauvble cum vxore ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Odardus Vañ Somevlt cultifex cum vxore et puero in Anglia nat. venit ex Flandria in Angliam Anno dni. 1567.

Nicodemus Naneger lanificus cum vxore et quatuor pueris venit in Angliam 1567.

Franciscus De Comimcke lanificus cum vxore et quatuor pueris ex Flandria in Angliam venit Anno 1567.

Olinarius Taspill lanificus cum vxore et puero hic nat. venit ex Flandria huc 1567.

Johannes Baelde lanificus cum vxore tribus pueris ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Johannes De Coste lanificus cum vxore et pueris venit ex Flandria huc 1567.

Johannes Vanderburgge lanificus cu. septem pueris, quorum duo sunt adolescentes, ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Vidua Mathei Van Bogarde lanifica cum quinque adolescentibus ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Franciscus De Kesquitere textor cum vxore cum tribus pueris ex Flandria huc venit Anno dni. 1567.

Rogerus Concke faber lignarius cum vxore et duobus pueris, quorum alter in Anglia natus est, alter ex Flandria natus, huc venit Anno dni. 1567.

Lodouicus Fortis cum vxore et puero hic nat. huc venit ex Flandria Anno 1567.

Johannes Dielens faber lignarius cum vxore et duobus pueris ex Brabantia huc venit Anno 1567.

Petrus Janes cum vxore et duobus pueris ex Brabantia huc venit Anno 1567.

Mr. Richardus Vander Varent ludimagister cum vxore et duobus pueris, quorum vnus hic natus est, ex Zelandia huc venit Anno 1567.

Jorina Hendricq vidua cum duobus pueris ex Zelandia huc venit Anno 1567.

Willmus Janss mercator cum vxore sorore et ancilla ex Zelandia huc venit Anno 1567.

Adrianus Janss mercator cum vxore et duobus pueris ex Zelandia huc venit 1567.

Daniel De Vogle mercator cum vxore et sorore ex Zelandia huc venit Anno 1567.

Nicholaus Nicolaij faber cum vxore et ancilla ex Zelandia huc venit Anno 1567.

Barnardus Janss cum vxore ex Zelandia huc venit Anno 1567.

Rochus Adriaenss mercator cum vxore et sorore ex Zelandia huc venit Anno 1567.

Johannes Hendrici murorum exstructor cum vxore et duobus pueris ex Zelandia huc venit Anno 1567.

Catherina de Corte puella lanifica ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1561.

Georgius van Kekefaber lignarius cum vxore ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Joannes De Keerle lanificus cum vxore ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Petrus de Mulenare lanificus cum vxore et tribus liberis ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Franciscus de Dekeere lanificus cum vxore et filia ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1561.

Augustinus De Winter textor cum vxore et tribus pueris, quorum vnus hic natus est, ex Flandria venit anno 1567.

Andreas Lucas cum vxore et duobus adolescentibus ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1561.

Anthonius Game fullo cum vxore et tribz pueris ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Jodocus Du Morr iuuenis lanificus ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Cornelia Breen cum sorore lanifica iuuenis ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1561.

Maria Vneters, Clara Dathen, Francisca Meys, iuuenes ex Flandria huc venerunt Anno 1567.

Georgius Janss textor cum vxore et duobus liberis huc venit Anno 1567 ex Zelandia.

Martinus Maescheli lanificus cum vxore et quatuor pueris in Anglia nat. huc ex Flandria venit Anno 1562.

Dominicus du Bois mercator cum vxore et tribus pueris, quorum vnus hic natus est, ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Elizabetha Laenvoet et Maria Witroot iuuenes ex Flandria huc venerunt Anno 1564.

Georgius Wischane viduus Gemmarius in Anglia natus membrum nre Eccleie.

Petrus Van Cauybenberge mercator cum vxore et tribus pueris et ancilla ex Zelandia 1567.

Willmus Schenck mercator ex Zelandia 1567.

Franciscus Hecke sartor cum vxore et filia ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1562.

Jodosorus vander Slaet ludimagister cum vxore ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Georgius de Meij iuuenis lanificus ex Flandria huc venit anno 1562. Seruos habet *Jeronimum van Vliet* et *Johannem Kerst* iuuenes.

Johannes Petri cum vxore et quatuor adolescentibus ex Brabantia huc venit anno 1567.

Petrus Lantshere viduus textor ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Mr. Matheus Richius doctor medicus cum vxore et duobus pueris ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Joannes Elsman et Gerardus Mil fabri lignarij cum vxoribus ex Brabantia huc venerunt 1567.

Michael Wante lanificus cum vxore et puero ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1565.

Mechelina Hubrechts cum filia ex Brabantia venit huc Anno 1567.

Cornelius Van Gausebeke cum vxore venit huc ex Flandria Anno 1565.

Jacobus Jans clericus ex Holandia cum vxore et ancilla huc venit Anno 1567.

Willmus Brandt<sup>4</sup> cum vxore et ancilla ex Flandria huc venit anno 1561.

Thomas Bateman mercator cum vxore et septem pueris, quorum duo in Anglia nati sunt, et ancillis tribus ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1561.

Christianus Cabellian lanificus cum vxore et tribus pueris ex Flandria huc venit 1567.

Stephanus De Mol lanificus cum vxore et sorore ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Egidius Honnenagel ludimagister cum vxore venit ex Flandria Anno 1566.

Jan Fere sutor cum vxore ex Flandria huc venit Anno Dni. 1567.

Joannese van Ghenacht cum vxore et sorore ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Willmus Longespye lanificus cum vxore et tribus adolescentibus ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

<sup>4</sup> See *East Anglian*, vol. i. p. 60.

Olara vidua Joannis Strube cum duobus pueris hic nat. ex Picardia huc venit Anno 1561.

Jodocus Thornius lanificus cum vxore et filia ex Flandria venit huc Anno 1560.

Joannes Means sartor cum vxore ex Flandria venit huc Anno Dni 1560.

Boos Gallant lanificus cum vxore et adolescente ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1560.

Joannes Loots lanificus cum vxore et quinque filiabus venit ex Flandria in Angliam A° 1560.

Franciscus Misdoin lanificus cum vxore et puero hic nat. ex Flandria venit in Angliam Anno 1560.

Florentius Crieke lanificus cum vxore ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Egidius Braem lanificus cum vxore et puero venit in Angliam ex Flandria Anno 1567.

Carolus Prame juvenis sartor ex Flandria venit Anno 1567.

Andreas Rochus lanificus cum vxore huc venit Anno 1567.

Anthוניus Paulus lanificus cum vxore et puero venit ex Flandria Anno 1567.

Maria Dutsche, Jacobina de Dutsche, Jacobina de Dutsche, Maria Van Castele, et Maria Godscale, juvenes puellæ ex Flandria huc venerunt Anno 1567.

Franciscus Isaac textor cum vxore et puero huc venit ex Flandria Anno 1567.

Mr. Joannes Crop chirurgus cum sorore et Joanne Valayolet sene ex Flandria huc venit 1567.

Anthוניus de la Solemme tipographus cum vxore et duobus pueris ex Brabantia huc venit Anno 1567.

Willmis Vschere lanificus cum vxore et duobus pueris hic nat. et duobus famulis huc venit ex Flandria Anno 1567.

Joannes Maret lanificus cum vxore fratre et sorore ex Flandria huc venit A° 1565.

Thomas Calcearius cum vxore et tribus pueris hic nat. venit ex Flandria Anno 1561.

Francisca Means vidua cum filia huc venit Anno dni. 1561.

Arnoldus Coquens viduus lanificus ex Flandria huc venit Annq 1567.

Joanna Baars, Paeschina Jomers, Margareta Murgels, et Leyken van Arke puellæ Juvenes ex Brabantia huc venerunt Anno 1567.

**Hi qui sequitur nondum dederunt nomina Ecclesia publicae-  
que fidei confessione sed diligenter frequentant  
Conciones sacras et pro Catechumenis habentur et  
Religionis causa ex patriae profugerunt.**

**Johannes Hugebaert sartor cum vxore et quatuor pueris ex Flandria  
huc venit Anno Dni Millimo Quingen<sup>to</sup> Sexagimo septimo.**

**Joannes Clerus lanificus cum vxore Baldewine Voet et Anthonio  
Gante juvenibus venit ex Flandria in Angliam Anno 1567.**

**Pierona Van Hille vidua lanifica ex Flandria venit in Angliam  
Anno 1567.**

**Jacobus Brasell cum vxore et Joanne Peme, lanifico venerunt ex  
Flandria Anno 1567.**

**Joanna de Pres vidua ex Flandria venit huc Anno 1567.**

**Petrus Conineke textor cum vxore et Flandria venit Anno 1567.**

**Petrus de Somer sutor juvenis ex Flandria venit huc Anno 1567.**

**Daniel Borreman sutor cum vxore et duobus pueris ex Flandria  
huc venit Anno 1567.**

**Franciscus Socij sartor cum vxore et duobus pueris ex Flandria  
venit huc anno 1567.**

**Franciscus Florijs textor cum vxore ex Flandria venit Anno 1567.**

**Joannes Losinger cum vxore ex Flandria huc venit lanificus 1567.**

**Joannes Pastz bibliopola cum vxore et duobus pueris ex Holandia  
huc venit Anno 1567.**

**Cornelius Vander Goex sartor cum vxore et puero hic nat. ex  
Brabantia huc venit Anno 1567.**

**Adrianus Vang Torre textor cum vxore et sex liberis ex Flandria  
huc venit Anno 1567.**

**Joanna ffaes vidua cum filio et duabus filiabus vidua ex Flandria  
venit anno 1567.**

**Jacobina Van Hone vidua venit ex Flandria huc Anno 1567.**

**Maliartus de Swichte lanificus cum vxore et puero ex Flandria huc  
venit anno 1567.**

**Mathens Priem lanificus cum vxore et tribus juvenibus ex Flandria  
venit in Angliam A° 1567.**

**Stephanus Vechoore lanificus cum vxore et quinque adolescentibus  
ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.**

**Margareta et Jacobina Hendes juvenes puelle lanificae ex Flandria  
huc venerunt Anno 1567.**

**Petrus de Keyle cum sorore juvenes lanificus ex Flandria huc  
venit Anno 1567.**

Marcus Verelst fullo cum vxore ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Joannes Van Den Brouche lanificus cum vxore et puero ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Michael de Haue textor cum vxore et puero ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Albertus Christiani tipographus ex Hollandia venit huc Anno 1567.

Leonardus van Clijtte calcifex cum vxore duob; juvenibus ex Flandria venit Anno 1567.

Iodocus Brake holitor cum vxore et puero ex Zelandia huc venit Anno 1568.

Tobias Dierkiner cum Pascasio fratre et sororib; duabus lanificus ex Flandria venit Anno 1567.

Georgius de Bluck tinctor cum vxore et tribus pueris ex Flandria huc venit 1567.

Simon van Cauvbenberghe textor cum vxore et uno puero hic nat. ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Erasmus Dropus textor cum vxore et tribus pueris ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Hubertus Knocke sartor cum vxore et sex pueris ex Brabantia huc venit Anno 1567.

Andrianus Mees textor cum vxore et quatuor pueris ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Iodocus van Mote textor cum vxore et duobus famulis ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Rogerus Lennes cum vxore et duobus pueris ex Brabantia huc venit Anno 1567.

Anthonius de Vanvbe cum vxore lanificus ex Brabantia huc venit Anno 1567.

Maximilianus Frisius calcifex cum vxore et septem pueris ex Brabantia huc venit 1567.

Petrus Hortulanus sartor cum vxore et duobus pueris ex Brabantia huc venit Anno 1567.

Joannes van Denne tinctor cum vxore et duobus pueris ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Johannes de Roo cum vxore et famulo ex Flandria venit Anno 1567.

Anthonius de la Roke cum vxore ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Cornelius Metedach lanificus cum vxore et puero ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Vidua Hendrici van Brabant cum tribus pueris obetrix ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.



Andreas Rimus lanificus cum vxore et tribus pueris et ancilla ex Flandria huc venit 1567.

Oliueras Herman cum vxore ancilla et Georgio Van Busche ex Flandria venit huc Anno 1567.

Jodocus Verstraete cum vxore et puero ex Flandria huc venit 1567.

Petrus Billet lanificus cum vxore et duobus pueris et ancilla ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Logerius Leonardi cum vxore duobus pueris ex Zelandia huc venit Anno 1567.

Hendricus Vinersch textor cum vxore et tribus pueris ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Michael Beneren fullo cu. vxore et quatuor adolescentibus huc venit Anno 1567.

Christianus Maures lanificus cum vxore et puero ex Flandria huc venit 1567.

Maria Puntz vidua lanifica cu. tribus adolescentibus ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Georgius Andree figulus cum vxore et puero ex Brabantia huc venit Anno 1567.

Jodocus de Hase lanificus cum vxore et puero ex Flandria venit huc Anno 1567.

Michael Weyns lanificus cum vxore et Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Barbara Shooogheen lanifica vidua cum duobus pueris ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Matheus Tauernir lanificus cum vxore et tribus pueris ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Joannes Faret lanificus cum vxore et puero ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Bartholomeus van Hille lanificus cu. vxore et tribus pueris ex Flandria huc venit A° 1567.

Joannes Rybouille textor cum vxore et puero ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Joannes Baes faber lignarius cum vxore et famulo ex Brabantia huc venit Anno 1567.

Joannes Pijl textor cum vxore et puero ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Jodocus van Rey viduus ex Brabantia huc venit Anno 1568.

Willmus de Poortere textor cum vxore et tribus pueris ex Flandria huc venit A° 1567.

Robertus de Coquns lanificus cum vxore et duobus pueris ex Flandria huc venit A° 1567.

Gualterus Kerrelloot bambif<sup>s</sup> cum vxore ex Flandria venit huc Anno 1567.

Petrus De Blas tinctor cum vxore et duobus pueris ex Flandria venit huc 1567.

Georgius Hessele fullo cum vxore et puero ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1568.

Vidua Wilhelmi Pudt lanifica cum quinq; iunioribus ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

Christianus Verken cum vxore et duobus pueris ex Flandria huc venit Anno 1567.

**N**isi sunt quorum nomīne respondere, vtpote nobis non satis cogniti, non possumus.

Adolfus Bossu sartor profitetur nram. Religionem veram esse : sed interea nro. oetui sese non adiungit, quid causa sit inquirendu. est.

Franciscus de Bloeck tinctor vxorem non legitimam alere dicitur, quod falsum esse in se probare recepit.

Jacobus Cecus et Petrus Bergensis Lutheri et Bientij religione tuentur atq; defendunt, nonnullosq; infirmos turbant.

Jasparus Andree mercator, ebrietati ceterisq; vitij obnoxius, admonitus emendationem pollicetur.

Joannes Hey mercator, ebrietati deditus, emendacoem. pollicetur.

Jasperus Aert, faber lignarius, ebrietati adeo addictus vt ad potationculos potius quam ad pietatem natus videatur.

Romanus Fere operarius Hactenus ebrietati obnox. emendationem pollicetur.

**N**umerus Coniugatorum 314. Dico trecentos et quatuordecim et horum quatuor vel quinq; pares in vna familia morantur et habitant.

**N**on Coniugati Iuvenes tam mares quam foemine superantes ann. decimu. septimu. 193.

**A**dolentes et pueri qui nondum attigerunt ann. decimu. septimu. numero sunt 461.

**P**ueri in Anglia nati numero sunt 112.

**V**idui et vidue numero sunt 52.

<sup>s</sup> "Bambifcarius" = silk weaver.

## Responsio ad Articulos.

Ad primu. articulu.—Respondemus prout in calce huius scedula.

Ad secundum—Respondemus gra. et clementia serenissime Regine Anglie concessas et permissas nobis esse triginta familias, quae singula sub se comprehendant Decem personas. Ita vt ex indulto Regio Noortinci hospicio excipi possint extranei integre fidei et Religionis probeq. anteacte Vite trecenti. Et si vero numerus nostratium scedula hac expressorum indulti Regij numerum non exequat tamen quae est horum temporum Iniuria, et in nostra calamitosissima patria sum'a piorum afflictio et deuastatio: oramus et obsecramus per Christum dnm. omn. Regnorum patronu. et tutorem, et dominu. Dominantiu. tum Illustrissimu. principem et ducem Norff. tam etiam Mattheum jam Archiepiscopum Cantuarien. quam Episcopu. nrm. Norwicen. et Clarissimu. viru. . . . maiorem vrbis huius vt apud Sereniss. Regine Maiestatem nra. Ecclesie. nomine intercedant et exorent miseris nostris exulibus stationem hanc saluam et incolumem manere posse quoad Dominus Deus nostri misertus portum tranquillum in nra. patria concesserit, Hostemq. et Antechristum confoderit Quod pro Regie Maiestatis pietissima in omnes maxime in exules Chri. clementia nos obtenturos omnino confidimus.

Ad tertium quoq. Articulu.—respondemus prout in scedula.

Ad quartum—Respondemus nos seorsum recept. pietat. et fidei et Religionis Primo ordine, Secundo Catechumenos, Tertio vero remotioris spei tum viros tum foeminas Descripsisse inter quos cum nec dum nobis apparuerit esse homines vel vite vel sect. perditæ et deplorate speramus nos responsione nra scedula comprehensa articulo satisfecisse.

Idem Respondemus ad articulum Quintum.

Ad Sextum—Respondemus Scedula nra. comprehensos qui fuerint Catechumeni qui fidei recept. et probat. Item in tertio ordine non esse homines deplorate vel vit. vel secte ita vt necdum nobis constiterit quosdam in nro. gremio foveri qui maliciose se fidei Ecclesie vel admonitionibus subducant. Quanquam certum est quosdam huc decessisse qui nomina sua militie dederunt quorum vite et nominis hic neminisse Articulus non exigit cum recesserint jam dudum.

Idem Respondemus ad articulum septum.

Ad octavum—Respondemus nos in Doctrina Catholica filij Dei Prophetarum et Apostolorum (prout ea in alijs tam huius quam aliorum Regnorum Nationum et prouinciarum Ecclesijs. recte iuxta regulam veritatis et prescriptum verbi Dei reformatis Docetur et

exeretur) persistere. Vinctiq̃ sumus et conglutinati in hac fira Ecclesia pace tranquillitate, vereq̃ charitatis vinculo. Odimusq̃ dissensiones, rixas et turbas, edocti a Christi apostolo, vt idem omnes dicamus, et non sunt in nobis schismata, quare et Christo Dno., et afflictæ eius Ecclesie et Serenissime Regie maiestati et . . . . . in omnibus huius Regni indices vere pietatē amantibus quam maxime nos et seruire et gratificari, nobis persuasissimum est.

**Ecclesie Norwicens. Ministri tres—**

Theophilus Ryckevbaert, Flander.

Vsbrandus Ballicus, Frisius.\*

Anthonius Algotius, Flander.

**Catalogus omnium fidelium qui censentur in Ecclesia Christi Gallicana quæ nunc (?) est Norwici quiq̃ innocentia et modesta vita suam religionem ac pietatem tum publice tum priuater in omni Religionis exercitu testantur cuiusque rei gratia in predictum oppidum sese receperunt.**

Johannes Helmichius minister Legittime vocatus Utraiectensis in suum Ministerium, orthodoxam, hoc est filij Dei prophetarum et apostolorum Doctrinam populo Dei proponens, vxor eius Jebetta venerunt ante 9 menses: accessit ad eos superiori mense Maij soror eius.

Petrus de Morimont Namurcensis, olim saccarius venit ante decem menses cum vxore quinq̃ liberis vnaq̃ ancilla.

Lodouicus Cornutus Insulensis textor serici passementier et venit ante ann. cum vxore et quatuor seruulis tyronibus.

Robertus Godardus<sup>7</sup> Insulensis drappier des draps des bayes venit ante duos annos cum dimidio cum vxore, filijs duobus, et tribus filiabus.

Johannes Baghelerius Flander sayetteur, venit ante ann. cum vxore, duobus liberis.

\* Blomefield, in his *History of Norwich*, p. 203, folio edition, mentions Isebrandus Balkins as the head minister. But Ballicus was his name beyond a doubt. He also mentions Theophilus Ryckwaert and Anthony Algoet. So that it is clear, as I all along supposed, that "v b" together stand for a "w."

<sup>7</sup> Robert Goodarte was one of the six persons admitted masters for the Walloons.—Blomefield, p. 201.

Stephanus de Loo Flander criminator lane, venit ante 15 menses vxor et vnus infans.

Johannes Pytt Flander faisant faire saqueles, venit ante Ann. cum vxore et tribus liberis vnaq famula.

Egidius Cousinias Flander fayetteur venit ante annum cum vxore vnaq filiola.

Martinis Wagnomus Insulensis passementier venit ante annum cum vxore et duobus liberis.

Sequuntur *flumina* reliquorum fidelium cum tota familia, vxoribus atq liberis, qui pie sese gerunt et discipline ecclesiastice post multum examēn tum fidei tum morum semet submiserunt, atq, adeo per illam nunc reguntur, Causamq, sui aduentus in hanc Regionem, Christiane fidei liberam professionem habent.

Franciscus Cnockardus Flander, faiseur des gardes, venit ante Annum. cum vxore et duobus liberis.

Barbara Harmani moded [P] Antuerpiana venit ante Ann.

Johannes de Graus Flander textor venit ante vndecim menses vxor vnus infans.

Vententius Cornetius Flander, tondeur a grandes forches, venit ante vndecim menses cum sex liberis.

Nicholaus Dufour estimier Flander venit ante tredecim menses vxor tres liberi.

Johannes Casee Denison, coctor cereuisiarius, venit ante septem aut oct. annos vxor duo filiole duo serui.

Ludonicus des Bonnete Flander drappier venit ante 9 menses vxor soror ejus.

Johanna de Roy vidua Johanis de Roy Insulensis, venit ante decem menses cum sua filiola.

Vxor Stephani De La Talle, fullonis, Artesia venit ante tres annos vnica filiola.

Gasparus de Morimonte, olim Saccararius, Namurecensis venit ante decem menses cum vxore duobus liberis vnaq ancilla.

Michael Du Bar Flander, rappointeur des drapps, venit ante vndecim menses ad vxorem.

Johannes Barbien Flander, sayetteur, venit ante decem menses cum vxore et vna filiola.

Clara vxor Petri Baillen Artesia venit superiori ætate cum duobus liberis.

Johannes Billetius Flander, drappier, venit superiori ætate cum vxore vnoq famulo.

Ferinus Du Boys, Martinus des Pres, cum vxoribus suis vnoq seruulo.

Item Gilles Le Granu cum vxore duobus liberis, omnes Flandri, veneruntq ante decem menses, et sunt criminatores lane.

Arnoldus Le Maistre cum vxore item Antonius du Penty cum vxore et vna filia Flandri, criminatores lane, venerunt ante vndecim menses cum quadam filiola Antonetta.

Hector de Chire sartor Artesius, venit ante quinq annos, vxor, 2 liberi, vnus seruulus.

Renatus Soneau Francus, criminator lane, venit ante duos annos cum vxore et duobus liberis.

Antonius Posteañ Artesius, criminator lane, venit ante tres annos uxor quinq liberi.

Aetrus Du Boys Artesius criminator lane venit ante biennium, vxor, mater, 4 liberi.

Johannes Du Rhet Flander textor venit ante biennium, vnus infans, vna famula.

Paulus Barbe Flander, textor venit ante tres annos vxor 4 liberi.

Philippus De La Forterie Flander, textor, criminator lane, venit ante biennium cum vxore.

Martinus Bandry Flander, fullo, venit ante ann. cum vxore, vnoq infante.

Mattheus Qubinus, drappier, Flander venit superiori ætate cum vxore et quinq liberis.

Vxor Laurentij de Olencourte, sayetteaur, venit ante quinq anno cum vno filio et vno seruulo.

Noel Le Turcus<sup>a</sup> Flander, textor, venit ant. tres annos cum vxore.

Vincentius des Pres Flander drappier venit ante Ann. cum vxore.

Nazar Oboz criminator lane Artesius venit ante duos annos cum vxore.

Nicholaus Georgius Flander, gardeur, venit superiori æstat. vxor et vnus infans.

Maria, vidua Johannis fabri, cum septem liberis, vxor Petri des Passett<sup>c</sup> cum tribus liberis, Jacobus de Poulitier cum vxore et

<sup>a</sup> "Noe le Turcke," one of the six persons admitted Masters for the Walloona.—Blomesfield, p. 201.

duabus filiabus, Joanna Clapettia, Joanna Le Dente viduae. Omnes ex Flandria oriundae, venerunt elapso hieme ad nos ex Diepa.

Leo Bourdecallus, Artesius textor, venit ante duos annos vxor et filiola.

Vxor Simonis Carpentarij Hannoniensis criminator lane, venit ante Ann. cum vno infante.

Adrianus Claes Antuerpiensis, ludimagister, venit cum vxore et duobus seruulis pueris ante vndecim vel 12 menses.

Sebastianus Groscoeur passementier Insulensis, venit ante duos annos et dimidium ann. vxor 2 liberi frater eius Nicolas de Cortes et ipse Insulens. passementier venit ante 15 menses cum vxore et vnico filio.

Jacquelijno Plantesebue vidua Insulensis venit ante annum.

Allexander de Melun. Brabantus sartor venit ante quinq menses cum vxore.

Antonia de Creston vidua Insulensis venit cu. filia sua ante decem menses.

Petrus Marchant passementier Insulens. venit cum vxore et vnico infante ex Diepen. superiori hieme ante sex menses.

Gabriel Arnouldus mercator ex Cambesij venit ante decem menses cum duobus liberis, subsecuta est paulo post et vxor.

Mattheus Herain Valencenarius passementier venit ante 14 menses cum vxore tribus liberis et sorore Barbara.

Claudius Bristellus ex Comitatu S. Pauli passementier venit ante 13 menses cum vxore.

Vxor Petri Derneau criminatoris lane Insulens. venit ante ann. infans vnus.

Thomas Plantine Insulensis passementier venit ante ann. cum vxore.

Germanus Le Peret Insulensis drappier venit ante 25 menses cum vxore et tribus liberis. Est illi seruulus.

Johannes Du Boys qui venit ante sex vel septem hebdomadas.

Franciscus Hollebecus Insulensis textor venit ante Ann. cum vxore, habetq vnu. infantem.

Vxor Johannis Du Rien Insulensis textor venit ante 32 mens. cum vno filio.

Nicolaus de Linne Hannoniens, criminator lane venit ante 8 mens. vxor et 2 liberi.

Antonius Testardus Hannoniensis cangamier venit ante ann. cum vxore, vnoq infante.

Nicolaus de Loveel Artesius cangamuer venit ante ann.

Vxor Noels De Camps Insulensis netoris venit ante tres menses cum vna filia.

Oliuarius Corbeau Insulensis mercator vxor, 3 liberi, venerunt ante annu.

Philippotta vxor Hieronymi Halli chirurgi Insulensis venit ante ann. cu. quatuor liberis.

Johannes Noffius Insulensis criminator lane venit ante annu.

Johannes Grand mercator ex Mediomatricibus<sup>1</sup> Lotharinge sartor venit ante quinqueniu. vxor eius Londinensis 2 liberi.

Johannes Du Mey Valencenarius criminator lane venit ante 9 annos vxor, quinque liberi.

Gasparus Cornillo Armenterensis, textor venit ante 13 mens. vxor et 2 liberi.

Francisca Corneillo filiola, Margareta Peiltiere, vidua Armenterensis, venerunt ante 29 mens.

Egidius Des Camps Insulensis venit ante 14 menses cum vxore et 3 liberis.

Margarita Le Becque vidua Armenterensis venit ante 8 menses.

Jacobus De Scenery Valencenianus meimsier venit ante duos menses et dimidiu.

Katherina Bullois filia Insulens. venit ante ann.

Johannes Arnouldis Hannoniensis pistor venit ante 10 menses cum vxore, matre, quatuor liberis.

Vxor Antonij Insulens. vitriarij, venit ante duos annos.

Nicolaus Carronius Insulensis criminator lane venit ante 19 annos duxitque Anglicam habens vna. prolem.

Johannes Laenurier Valencenianus criminator lane vxor, duo liberi.

Petrus Du Riefi Insulens, ludimagister venit ante 10 menses vxor et 4 liberi.

Renaldus Obry Armenterensis, criminator lane venit ante duos menses.

Petrus de Poucelle ex montibus Hanonie venit ante 9 menses vxor et 3 liberi.

Thomas Chocquetn. Artesius criminator lane venit ante 10 menses, vxor, matres.

Petrus Calonnets Insulensis venit ante vndecim menses, vxor, 2 liberi.

Antonius Guecquilrius Insulensis cangamier venit ante . . . . . annos vxor, 2 liberi, vna famila.

<sup>1</sup> Mediomatricibus—the Moselle district.



Michael Des Chiens textor serici venit ante ann. vxor, 2 liberi.

Luc Luc Hannoniensis passementier venit ante 13 menses, vxor, 2 liberi.

Sequuntur Nomina eorum qui necdum recepti sunt in commune corpus Eccleie neq. ad sacram synaxim admissi, quia nondum publicam fidei confessionem in coetu fidelium ediderunt, interea tamen pie et modeste sese gerunt eoq. tendunt et ad oblat. occasionem prodeant.

Gilles Camfne Flander textor venit ad postremu. elapsu. Pascha.

Robertus Chamean Leodiensis faber serarius venit ante tres annos cum adhuc ignarus esset veræ religionis, nunc autem sese parat ad receptionem Doctrine sicut fecit eius socius et conterraneus.

Henricus Leodiensis faber et ipse serarius qui publice fidem confessus et ad Sacram Synaxim nuper admissus.

Cornelius Diriekse Brabantus mercator venit ante 8 menses vxor, 3 liberi, vna famula.

Johannes Postean Artesius, tondeur des drapps venit ante 15 dies.

Vxor cuiusdam Germain cui cognomentum Frere habitans in pochia Sancti Augustini necdum satis potuit errores quosdam Papismi deponere interea tamen tranquille et absq. scandalo suo marito, homini bene Christiano, cohabitat Immo incipit nunc tyrocinium fidei facere.

Familiarum Numerus quaru. Vnaqueq. Vtrumq. coniugum, vt minimum, presentem habet, Ita vt vidue, et quarum mariti iam abierunt, in eo comprehensæ non sunt .. .. . 64

Quæ vero in numero viduarum, et alioquin absq. maritorum presentia censentur, sunt .. .. . 19

Pueri et Puellæ maiores sedecim annis .. .. . 19

Minores autem .. .. . 95

Infantes in Anglia Nati, Baptizati, et adhuc superstites 40, ex quibus in hac nra Ecclesia. fuerunt Baptizati. 30 et nominati 9 mares. reliqui aut sane Mares sive sexus alterius (40)

Famuli et famule maiores sedecim annis sunt .. .. . 9

Minores sunt .. .. . 3

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Numerus ergo totalis omnium Capitum .. .. 339

## **Responsio ad singulos articulos prout per seriem nobis propositi fuerunt.**

Ad primū articulu—Responsum est per Vniuersam Scedulam et precipue in designatione numeri totalis.

Ad secundum—Respondemus ex gratia Serenissime Maiestat<sup>e</sup> Regine Anglie concessos esse quinq. quos Vocamus Magistros, quorum quilibet propriā suā constituit familiam, ac Deinde sub se Decem alias personas habet quarum similiter vnaqueq. totidem, hoc est Decem, familias constituit. Admissee sunt, ergo p Diploma regie maiestat<sup>e</sup> famili. Quequidm. numerum paulo excedi constat per calculu. nostri scripti. Sed speramus immo confidimus Regia Clementia peticoem. Reuerendissimi patris Archiepiscopi Cantuarien. postulationem Illustrissimi Duc<sup>e</sup> Norff<sup>e</sup> interpellationem Reuerendi<sup>1</sup> Johis Norwicen Epi. Pium denique huius Vrbis Magistratu. nihil acturum quam quod exulibus filij Dei membris extorribusq. fidelibus in hunc portum ob causam antea dicta. profugis bene cessurum sit: presertim quum pleræque familie Vltra tres personas non habeant, quædam cohabitent anguste; alie etiam convictitent.

Ad tertium quoq. articulu. copiose quantumq. nobis Liquere potuit responsum, arbitramur in Scedula.

Similiter quart. satisfactum est in scedula in qua (sicut etiam veritas inter nos est) singulor<sup>e</sup> Studia adnotantur nemine tali macula que in ist. articulo comprehendat. adperso.

Quinto etiam Articulo satisfecit scedula que Diserte Distinguit quotquot iam ad Sacramenta admissi sunt a Catechumenis, cum tantum vtriusq. istius ordinis homines et auditores in nra. Ecclesia. habeamus.

Quantum ad sextum pertinet. articulu. Luculenter testatur scedula nos plane inter 'nos habere nullos qui sese a constituta exteris sue Lingue Ecclesia subducant, Parochiales quidem Anglicas propter idiomatis imperitia non adeunt quod ea de causa confidimus apud clemētia. maiestatis nobis Detriment. non fore.

Unde etiam septimo articulo satisfi<sup>t</sup>, omnibus religiose et Dilligenter prestitutam sibi Eccliam frequentantibus.

Ad ultimum Deniq. articulu ample respondet initium huius scedule Iterumq. ex abundanti protestamur, nos in Doctrina Catholica filij Dei Prophetarūq. et Apostolor<sup>e</sup>, sicut ecclie ad veritatem verbi Dei reformatæ, cum vere charitatis vinculo pace nimirum et tranquillitate tum publica tum priuata cum vniuerso ecclie nre corpore pasterere vnanimis.

<sup>1</sup> John Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich from 1560 to 1574.

**Nomina et Cognomina** concionatoris Senior<sup>ſ</sup>, Diaconorum, et alior<sup>ſ</sup> fratrum cum illorum Doctrina, conversacoe, occupationibus, mechanicis opificijs, et Natalibus Locis, et quibus de causis ex illis fuerint profugi, quoque tempore ad hoc Illustrissimum Anglie Regnum peruenerint, et de priuilegijs et munere Regia maiestate concessis illis qui ad oppidum Lynn remigrarunt.

### **In oppido Lynn.**

Quoniam Deus optimus maximus propter euangelium suum profugis Regie Maiestati<sup>ſ</sup> cor in defensionem illor<sup>ſ</sup> mouit vt nobis sub Pijssima et Reuerendissima nutrice Liceat tanquam in sinu foveri admisit nobis R. M. Libertatem vsque ad 300 familias quarum principia hic subscribuntur.

### **Ministri Eccle.**

Gerardus Gallus Gallicanus cum Maria vxore sua et ancilla, verbi Dei Ecclesia Peregrinor<sup>ſ</sup> que est in Lyn Minster Oriund<sup>ſ</sup> ex Hollandia ciuitate Uetraiect profugus cum Domino suo de Brederoode cuius erat Concionator ex Ciuitate Viana profectus Londinium 2 idus Maij Anno 1567 et inde ab ecclesia Belgica 16 Octobris ad verbi Dei ministeriũ ad oppidum Lynn vocatus, ibiq. cum Summa puritate Doctrine et pia conversacoe ecclesie seruiens.

Iustus Junius cum sua vxore Maria et tribus liberis ex Ciuitatis Burgensi in Flandria natus, occupatione ludimagr quondam in Ciuitate Brabantie quæ vocatur Breeda inde profugus propter Christianam religionem 18 Maij Anno 1567 in Angliam venit et est iam senior ecclesie Belgice in Lynn ibidemq. negocium agens Scholasticum et est doctrine sane et vite sincere.

Middardus Trion eiusdm Ecclesie senior cum sua vxore et duobus filiabus, oriundus ex Flandria et loco que vocatur Kennuelle, qui operatur in lanificio, inde propter verbum Dei profugus in Angliam venit quart. idus Julij Anno 1567 qui similiter est purioris Doctrine et vite sincere.

Petrus Joannis cultorum faber cum sua vxore et quinque liberis ex Ciuitate Hollandie que vocatur Delft, profugus propter verbum Dei, venit ad Angliam 18 Maij Anno 1567 nunc temporis senior ecclesie Belgice in Lynne qui similiter est purioris Doctrine et bone vite.

Franciscus De Spieghelle cum duobus suis filijs et vna ancilla ex Ecloo in Flandria, natus Linteorum, textor, profugus propter verbum

Dei, venit in Angliam 17<sup>o</sup> Maij Anno 1567 et iam senior ecclie peregrinor. in Lynne, qui purioris Doctrine est et vite.

Samson faber cum sua vxore et quinq. liberis, Iperius natione, venit in Angliam profugus propter verbum Dei, 18 Maij Anno 1567, nunc temporis ecclie Belgice senior in Lynne, qui sanæ Doctrine est et vite.

Theodoricus De Haue ex Delft Ciuitate Hollandie oriundus cum sua vxore et tribus liberis, mercator, propter verbum Dei inde profugus, venit in Angliam 16 Octobris Anno 1567, nunc senior ecclie Belgice in Lynne, qui similiter est pure Doctrine et vite sincere.

Cornelius Joannis cum sua vxore et prole ex Haerlem Ciuitate Holandie oriundus, sartor, propter verbum Dei 16 Julij Anno 1567 inde profugus, venit in Angliam, nunc Diaconus ecclie Belgice in Lynne et est pure Doctrine et bone vite.

Arnoldus Joppen cum sua vxore ex Delft Ciuitate Hollandie natus Sutor, propter verbum Dei inde profugus, venit in Angliam 26 Novembris Anno 1567, nunc Diaconus ecclie Belgice in Lynne, qui est pure doctrine et bone vite.

Joannes Theodorici cum sua vxore et tribus liberis ex Delft Ciuitate Hollandie oriundus, mercator, propter verbum Dei inde profugus, venit in Angliam 26 Novembris Anno 1567, iam Diaconus ecclie peregrinor in Lynne et est pure Doctrine et optime vite.

Andreas Martini adhuc adolescens ex Delft Ciuitate Hollandie oriundus nullius occupationis, propter verbum Dei inde profugus, venit in Angliam 26 Novembris Anno 1567 nunc temporis Diaconus ecclie Belgice in Lynne, qui est pure Doctrine et bone vite.

Joannes De Spegehele cum Anna vxore sua et filio suo ex Ecloo in Flandria oriundus Linteor, textor, inde profugus propter verbum Dei, venit in Angliam 17 Maij Anno 1567 et iam Diaconus Belgice ecclie in Lynne, qui est sane Doctrine et bone vite.

Daniel Wante cum sua vxore et duabus filiabus ex Ecloo in Flandria natus Sutor inde profugus propter Christianam Doctrinam venit in Angliam 26 Augusti Anno 1567 nunc Diaconus ecclie peregrinoru. in Linne et est purioris Doctrine et vite pure.

### **Membra Ecclie.**

Judocus Sartoris cum sua vxore et duobus filiis ex Altere in Flandria oriundus Linteorum textor profugus propter verbum Dei venit in Angliam 24 Septembris Anno 1567 et est pure Doctrine et vite.

Arnoldus De Loo adolescens, natus ex oppido quod vocatur Velsick in Flandria, nullius occupationis, profugus propter verbum Dei, venit in Angliam 26 Octobris Anno 1567, qui est purioris Doctrine et bone vite.

Hendricus De Walme cum sua vxore et duobus filijs ex Sotteghem in Flandria oriundus Cupifex, propter verbum Dei profugus, venit in Angliam 6 Junij Anno 1567, qui similiter est sane Doctrine et pure vite.

Margareta Oudmarek juuencula ex Velsick in Flandria oriunda propter verbum Dei profuga in Anglia venit 16 Octobris Anno 1567 et est pure doctrine et bone vite.

Simon De Weghere cum vxorecula sua ex Oystwincke natus inde profugus venit in Angliam 16 Octobris Anno 1567, qui similiter est purioris Doctrine et pure vite.

Petrus De Cuyfs cum sua vxore et tribus filijs oriundus ex Ecloo in Flandria lana victum quæritans inde profugus propter verbum Dei venit in Angliam 16 Octobris Anno 1567 et est sane Doctrine saneq. vite.

Vincentius de Pedue cum sua vxore et duobus filijs ex Ecloe in Flandria natus, minister ecclie Belgice, inde profugus propter verbum Dei venit in Angliam 6<sup>o</sup> Septembris anno 1567, qui similiter est sane Doctrine et sane vite.

Ancomera Hendrici cum sua sorore adolescentule ex Breede ciuitate oriunde Lana ac tela victum quærentes propter evangelium profugæ venere in Angliam 14 Septembris Anno 1567<sup>o</sup> sane Doctrine sunt et sanctissime vite.

Joannes Coene cum sua vxore et Ciuitate Gaudensi oriundus, sartor, propter verbum Dei profugus in Angliam venit 15 Octobris Anno 1567<sup>o</sup> qui similiter est sane Doctrine et vite.

Joannes Anthony adolescens ex Dordrato in Hollandia natus faber lignarius propter verbum Dei inde profugus in Angliam venit 4<sup>o</sup> Aprilis Anno 1567<sup>o</sup> et est purioris Doctrine et pure vite.

Jacobus De Ecke cum sua vxore ex Gaudano in Flandria oriundus, nullius occupationis, propter verbum Dei profugus venit in Angliam 15 Octobris Anno 1567<sup>o</sup> qui est purissime Doctrine et vite sane.

Martinus Allardi cum sua vxore ex Ciuitate Gaudensi oriundus, faber murarius, inde propter evangelium profugus in Angliam venit 15 Octobris Anno 1567<sup>o</sup> et est sane Doctrine et vite sane.

Gulielmus de Scruielhuysse cum sua vxore et filio ex Ecloe in Flandria natus argillarius inde propter evangelm. profugus venit in

**Angliam Primo Septembris Anno 1567 qui similiter est pure Doctrine et vite.**

**Pascharius Martier cum sua vxore et quinq. liberis ex Reynnonter in Flandria oriundus, operator in lanificio, inde profugus propter verbum Dei venit in Angliam 6 Nouembris Anno 1567° et est sane doctrine et vite.**

**Herperus Judoci cum vxore sua ex Delft in Hollandia oriundus, sartor, propter verbum Dei [profugus] et venit in Angliam 26 Novembris Ao. 1567° qui est pure Doctrine et vite.**

**Arnoldus de Bondt adolescens ex Delft in Hollandia oriundus nullius occupationis propter verbum Dei profugus venitq. in Angliam 16 Maij anno 1567° et est sane Doctrine et vite.**

**Mattheus Theodorici cum vxore sua et filia ex Delfte in Hollandia natus faber lignarius propter evangelium profugus et venit in Angliam 26 Maij Anno 1567, qui similiter est pure Doctrine et vite.**

**Guilielmus Baudinini cum sua vxore et ancilla ex Leye in Hollandia oriundus, operator in lanificio, inde propter verbum Dei profugus venit in Angliam 26° Martij Anno 1567° et est sane doctrine et vite.**

**M<sup>r</sup>. Cornelius Simonis cum vxore sua et quatuor liberis ex Ziericzzer in Zelandia oriundus, nullius occupationis, inde propter verbum Dei profugus venit in Angliam 16 Septembris Anno 1567° qui similiter est optime Doctrine et vite.**

**M<sup>r</sup>. Anthonius Launerencij cum sua vxore et duobus filijs ex Ciuitate que vocatur Prielle en Holandia oriundus, chirurgus, ppter verbum Dei inde profugus venit in Angliam 17° Septembris Anno 1567° et est sane Doctrine et vite.**

**Adrianus Buese adolescens ex Wulnerghem in Flandria natus operator in lanificio inde ob evangelm. profugus venit in Angliam 13 Junij anno 1567°, et est pure doctrine et vite.**

**Salomon Jacobi ex Ciericzzer in Zelandia natus, lana ac tela victum quæritans, propter evangelm. profugus venit in Angliam 13 Octobris Anno 1567 qui est sane doctrine et vite.**

**M<sup>r</sup>. Joannes Weddelnick cum vxore sua ex Steenwercke in Flandria oriundus, operator in lanificio, inde propter evangelm. profugus et in Angliam venit 9° Aprilis Anno 1567° et est pure doctrine et vite.**

**Joannes Anthoni ex Leyde in Hollandia oriundus, faber lignarius, propter evangeliu. inde profugus venit in Angliam 6° Aprilis Anno 1567° qui similiter est pure vite et doctrine.**

**Jasperus Beernensis cum vxore sua ex oppido quod vocatur de Haghe in Hollandia natus, faber lignarius, propter evangeliu. inde**

profugus venit in Angliam 16 Julij Anno 1567, et est sane Doctrinae et vite.

Dionisius Iudoci cum vxore sua et quinq; liberis ex Delft in Hollandia oriundus Lineor<sup>l</sup> textor inde propter verbum Dei profugus et in Angliam venit 15 Maij A° 1567 et est pure Doctrinae et vite.

Franciscus Derkel cum vxore sua ex Ecloo in Flandria oriundus, olitor, inde propter evangelm. profugus venit in Angliam 16<sup>o</sup> Octobris Anno 1567<sup>o</sup> et est sane doctrine et bone vite.

Thomas de Smit cum sua vxore ex Antuerpia in Brabantia oriundus propter evangelm. inde profugus et venit in Angliam 16 Septembris Anno 1567<sup>o</sup> qui est pure Doctrinae et vite pure.

Jasperus De Banneir cum sua vxore ex Ciuitate que vocatur Briele in Holandiae oriundus Lineor<sup>l</sup> textor propter verbum Dei profugus in Angliam venit 15 Maij A° 1567<sup>o</sup> qui similiter est bone doctrine et vite.

Jacobus De Vliegheer cum duobus filijs ex Waerschot in Flandria oriundus operator in lanificio inde propter purum evangelm. profugus et venit in Angliam 16 Aprilis A° 1567<sup>o</sup> et est pure doctrine et pure vite.

Adrianus De Waldeghem adolescens ex Ecloo in Flandria oriundus nullius occupacois propter evangelm. profugus in Angliam venit 16 Junij Anno 1567. qui similiter est purioris Doctrinae et pure vite.

Jacobus Hendrici cum sua vxore et filia cultor<sup>l</sup> faber ex Breeda in Brabantia oriundus propter verbum Dei inde profugus et venit in Angliam 16 Junij Anno 1567<sup>o</sup> qui est pure doctrine et pure vite.

Petrus De Brune adolescens ex Dudzele in Flandria oriundus, olitor, propter evangelm. profugus et in Angliam venit 19 Septembris Anno 1567<sup>o</sup> et est pure vite et pure Doctrinae.

Nomina eorum qui adhuc in Ecclesia nondum sunt recepti sed pro Catechumenis habentur, et qui, quam cito fieri posset, noia dabunt ecclesie de quibus etiam nobis bona est spes, et qui bonum etiam habent Testimonium.

Johannes Boosman cum vxore sua et duobus filijs ex Hulst in Flandria oriundus sutor, propter evangelm. profugus et in Angliam venit 28 Aprilis Anno 1567<sup>o</sup> qui est pure Doctrinae et vite.

Reniuerus Gerardi cum sua vxore et quatuor liberis ex Dort in Hollandia oriundus inde propter evangelm. profugus venit in Angliam secundo Aprilis Anno 1567<sup>o</sup> et est sane doctrine et vite.

Cornelius Hendrici adolescens ex Delft in Hollant nullius occupationis propter evangelm. profugus et venit in Angliam 26° Martij A° 1567° qui est sane Doctrine et vite.

Joannes Leonardi ex Ciuitate que vocatur de Breele in Hollant oriundus nullius occupationis propter verbum Dei profugus et venit in Angliam 3 Maij Anno 1567° et est sane Doctrine et vite.

Johannes Cornelij ex Leydis in Hollandia oriundus, sartor sui opificij, qui huc in Angliam *vacat* appulit 18 Aprilis Anno 1568° vt opere suo : *vacat* quia sequit' in secundo folio.

Petrus Wadde cum vxore sua et quatuor liberis ex Ciuitate qui que vocat' de Briele in Hollandia cupifex propt' evangelm Dei profugus et venit in Anglia 6 Marcij Anno 1567° qui est pure Doctrine et vite.

Erasmus Parasis ex Ecloo in Flandria oriundus nullius occupationis propter evangelm profugus et venit in Angliam 15 Maij Anno 1567° et est pure Doctrine et vite.

Johannes De Hunt ex Ecclo oriundus, olitor, propter verbum Dei profugus in Angliam venit 18 Aprilis Anno 1567° qui est pure Doctrine et pure vite.

Petrus de Hunt ex Ecloo in Flandria oriundus, sartor, propter verbum Dei inde profugus et venit in Angliam 18 Maij Anno 1567° et est pure Doctrine et vite.

Martinus de Groote ex Waerschot in Flandria, nullius occupationis, propter verbum Dei profugus et venit in Angliam 26 Aprilis Anno 1567° qui est bone doctrine et vite.

Petrus Ryequaert adolescens ex Ostwinckel in Flandria oriundus, nullius occupacōis, propter verbum Dei profugus et venit in Angliam 16 Aprilis Anno 1567°, pure Doctrine et vite.

Hendricus Allardi cum vxore et quatuor filiis ex oppido quod vocatur De Haghe in Hollandia oriundus, operator in lanificio, propter evangelm profugus venit in Angliam 17 Maij Anno 1568, qui est purissime Doctrine et vite.

**Nomina eorum quorum conversationis, vite, decessus ratione reddere non cupimus, quosq, pro fratribz nris non agnoscimus, neque aliquam spem Christiane conuersationis habemus, sed vt Regiæ maiestati obedientiam debitam prestemus, nomina eorum et ea que de illis novimus reticere noluimus.**

Lucas Theodoricus cum sua vxore ex Delft in Hollandia oriundus in hac Ciuitate residens mercator qui ante aduentu ecclie nre huc in



Linne mercaturam exercuit in frument' qui bonam et ciuilibus conuersationis in patria nostra habet famam et venit in Angliam 16 Ianuarij Anno dno millmo quingen<sup>mo</sup> sexagesimo septimo.

Nicolaus Joannis cum vxore sua et filio ex Delft in Hollandia oriundus homo sexaginta annoꝝ profugus e sua patria quoniam papistice, idolatrie, adherere noluit nobis tamen in multis contrarius quemadmodum sunt vsum Sacramentor<sup>um</sup> in Eccleie Christi esse necessariu, Infantes non sentit esse Baptizandos, Christianum non posse fungi officio magistratus et tamen Anabaptistis om̃io contrarius, venit in Angliam 16 Martij Anno 1567<sup>o</sup>.

Gulielmus Joannis ex Delft in Hollandia oriundus vehetor qui licet famam bonam non habeat a magistratu, tamen litteras testimoniales subseignatas sigillo predictae Ciuitat<sup>is</sup> attulit que apud nos seruantur; venit in Angliam 16 Martij Anno 1567<sup>o</sup>.

Joannis Cornelij ex Leydis in Hollandia oriūds sartor sui opificij qui huc in Angliam appulit 18 Aprilis Anno 1568<sup>o</sup> vt opere suo manuario victum quæritat quemadmodu' ipse cora' nobis declarauit.

Cornelius De Vos cum vxore ex Dicksmuyde in Flandria oriundus faber ferrarius sui opificij qui propter malam suam conuersacoe' a novito migravit huc in eadm p aliquot tempus in scandalum ecclie pœuerans tamen modo sancte promittens se amodo christiane quantum potest atq' incepit victum venit in Angliam 16 Maij Anno 1567<sup>o</sup>.

Actum per nos verbi Dei Ministrum et seniores ecclie Belgice que est in Lynne 12 Junij Anno Dno. 1568.

Gherardus Gallus Gallicanus verbi Dei Minister.

Judocus Junius senior ecclie Belgice que est in Lynne et aliorum senior<sup>um</sup> qui propter Latine Lingue defectum propria manu has presentes non potuere subseignare quorum nomina in prima pagella huius Catalogi referuntur.

Gulielmus Sandersonus Minister verbi in Line Regis ecclesie Anglicana.

**D**ibis Precedentm Nominum in coniugatos et non coniugatos,  
Pueros et Adolescentes.

**T**otus Numerus Peregrinorum qui sunt in Leno Regis tam virorum  
atq' mulierum puerorum et adolescentiu, siue de Ecclia sunt siue  
non, pertingit vsq' ad . . . . . 176  
**E**x hoc numero sunt coniugati . . . . . 42<sup>o</sup>  
**A**dolescentes atq' adolescentule et non coniugati . . . . . 23  
**I**nfantes Pueri vel qui nondum 16 attigerunt ann. sunt

Centum et vndecim . . . . . [111]

**Colligit iterum numerum precedentem et Juuenes** .. .. 176  
**Ex omnibus his solumod' vnus Inuenitur qui sibi comparauit Anglicam**  
**libertatem.**

**Ex omnibus autem prescriptis pueris solumod' vnus restat qui natus**  
**et Baptizatus est in Anglia.**

## APPENDIX VI. (1569.)

LANSDOWNE MSS., VOL. 7, No. 82.

The Copie of a letter sent to the Lord<sup>e</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Q. Ma<sup>tie</sup> Counsell  
 conc<sup>erning</sup>e the cause of the letters of tolleracion from the Maio<sup>r</sup> of  
 Norwich.

Ow<sup>r</sup> deweties to yo<sup>r</sup> honors remembred, yt maye please the same to  
 be adv<sup>ertised</sup> that upon receipte of yo<sup>r</sup> honorable fres, we have thought  
 good, for furtheringe the servis comitted to owr care to contynue  
 priue waches from tyme to tyme, to serche out enie such psons as  
 wolde employe ther tyme in ydlenes, as men most to be suspected for  
 devisinge thinges that shuld tend to disquiet or spredinge rumors and  
 straightlye do execute the Lawe upon suche idle vag<sup>and</sup><sup>e</sup>. We also  
 thought it mete to referr anie matters wherin occasion might growe  
 betwene o<sup>r</sup> artizans and the straungers, artificers, to suche of a selecte  
 nombre of the sayde straungers, which we thinke of best report and  
 conv<sup>ersa</sup>con emonge them: by whome we ar to be advertized from  
 tyme to tyme of enie thinge that tendeth to greve eny of the  
 compania. So as we understande thereof by them, maye the rather  
 redresse (?) anie originall that wolde occasion such grief or complaynt.  
 We thinke yt veri mete also to lett yo<sup>r</sup> honors understande of the  
 nombre of the straungers, which be men of all sortes, to the nombre  
 of 792, women 681, S<sup>ervant</sup><sup>e</sup> 261, children 1132, among<sup>e</sup> whiche by  
 occasion of shippwrecke, one more notorious then the reste, is lately  
 come, named Robert Baliot, a Captayne and lorde of Skovena of  
 Elca (?) by Ypre in flandrs w<sup>th</sup> abowt a xl<sup>th</sup> soldiors, which seyde  
 shippwrecke happened abowt Skarbroughe and nowe the seyde  
 Captayne stayeth to get shippinge to repayre agayne to viij other  
 shippes of his companie abowt Emden, nere to the place called Flees,  
 all w<sup>ch</sup> compani of strangers we ar to confesse do lyve in good quiete  
 and order: and that they traveyle diligentlye to earne ther lyving<sup>e</sup>  
 And whether yt be yo<sup>r</sup> honors pleasure to alowe the sayde nombr

or that yf the nombre be increased by repaire hether from Sandwich or otherwhere we shall retayne those, or receyve anie greater nombre. We most humblye desyre yo' honors to signifye yo' good pleasures and so restinge at yo' honors comandement we humblye take ow' leaves this xvj of November 1569.

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**The Copie of a l'et sent from the Lord of her Ma<sup>tie</sup> most honorable privi counsell to the answer of the foresayde l'et.**

After ow' veri harti comendacons, we haue received yo' l'etes of the xvj<sup>th</sup> of this monethe, and do by the same (at good lengthe) p'ceyve the good order yo<sup>e</sup> have taken, as wel for the preservacon of the peace and punyshment of vacabound<sup>e</sup> and spreaders of false rumors, as also for the maynteyance of good quiete betwene the artificers and comon people of that citie and the straungers (p'sentlye) inhabitinge ther: wherein yo<sup>e</sup> have done veri well, and desearve good comendacons for the same: and wher ye desyre to understande, whether the nombre of straungers that do p'sentlye remayne in the sayde citie shalbe suffred to contynue ther, or whether ye shall receyve anie greater nombre, yf anye shuld happen to repayre thether from Sandwiche or other places. We thinke good that the nombre that is ther alredie be suffred to remayne ther, so long as they shall behave themselves quietlye and in good order as (by yo' sayde l'etes) yt aperethe they hetherto do: without receyvinge anie further nombre, that shuld happen to resorte thether from anie other place. As for the Captayne and his men, that by occasion of shipwreck ar come thether to stay for shippinge: we think the soner ye hasten ther dispatche from thence the bettre shall yt be, for that they being soldiors wyll nott (phappes) contynue in that good quyet order that the rest of ther countryemen (beinge artificers) do. And so fare ye hartely well: from Windesor the xxj<sup>th</sup> daye of November 1569.

N. Bacon, W. Northt', F. Bedforde, R. Leycestre, W. Howarde, F. Knolles, W. Myldemay.

To ower lovinge frendes, the Maio' of the Citie of Norwiche, Edward Clere and Clement Paston, Esquiers, and to the Aldermen of the seyde Citie.

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## APPENDIX VII.

DOM. S. P. ELIZ. VOL. 77, No. 58.

## Norwiche Booke of Orders for the Straungers.

The booke of orders for the straungers of the Citie of Norwiche pused oversene allowed and orderid by the right honorable S<sup>r</sup> Walter Myldemaye, Knight, and S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Smythe, Knight, of her mat<sup>e</sup> most honorable privi counsell and S<sup>r</sup> Wyllm Cordell, Knight, master of the rolles, the xx<sup>th</sup> daie of April 1571.

1st article. Itm. it is fyrst ordeined that the maior for the tyme beinge withe twoo other aldermen (wherof one to be a Justice of the Peace) shall have full power and autorite to here and determyne all suche matters as shall arise betwene straungers and inglyshe men inglyshmen and straungers and (beinge thereunto required) shall do all their indeavors as muche as in them shall lye.

Provided that all matters of contravercie (touching religion) that shall chaunce to arise either betwene Dwtoche or Wallowne be reserved to the order and correction of the byshopp and his ordinarie, to the ministers and consistorie of ther owne companie as also all other petie quarrelles (temporall) whiche shall chawnce to arise emongs themselves to be ended by tharbitrators of therowne companie. And yf the cawse be suche as it can not ther be ended (or enie man thinke hymselfe injuvried then the complaynte to be browt before the seide maior & aldermen & ther to be determined.

2nd article. Itm. that everie suche parson and parsons (beinge straungers and howsseholders) as do or shall inhabite within this Citie shall present themselves to master maior for the time beinge and the seyde twoo aldermen and to bringe a certificate from the ministers of their companie of his or ther good conversacion and of ther names and facultties to be entered into a booke whiche booke shall remayne withe the maior for the tyme beinge. And that everie parson be of good behavior duringe his or ther abode ther.

3rd article. Itm. that they nor enie of them do receyve harborowe or Lodge enie other straunger whiche shall repaire to this Citie contrarie to the statute 2 and also an olde acte and proclamacion yerely proclaymed at the charge and other takynge of the maior butt within twoo nightes shall certifie master maior therof and

pmytte them to resorte to comon innes of the Citie. In payne of forfeitinge for everie tyme that enie one shall do to the contrarie fyve shillings whereof the moietie to be to the maior for the tyme beinge and the other halfe to the presentor.

And everi one hether resortinge and myndinge here to dwell shall present his name and facultie to master maior within tenn daies and bringe a c'tificate from the ministers of the congregacion as befor in the seconde article, shalbe admitted or demissed accordinge to the nombre here competente abidinge as to the seyde maior shall seme most conveniente.

4th article. Itm. ye shall withowte collwision or cowllon paye to the churchwardens of everie parrishe wher ye do inhabitte for the discharge of all manner of dewties growenge to the preste and clarke of the same parrishe at suche tymes as they do accustome to collecte the same after the rate that ye do paye for yo' howserente or ferme viz. of everie shyllinge one penie for the whole yere, and also in time of yere for watche monye when and so often as yo' Lotte do fall, three pens for a night bothe in sommer and wynter to be paid to the conastable of the warde wher ye dwell or to suche as by the same conastable shal be appoynted to wache for everie howsholder that hathe a dore openinge into the streetes. And fwrder that you nor enie of you shalbe fownde walkyng in the streetes halfe an howre after the courfewe bell have comonly ronge in the parrishe of St. Peter of Mancrofte and shalbe seassed withowte urgente and reasonable cawse.

5th article. Itm. ye shall presente yerelye befor the maior for the tyme beinge (within fourtene daies after everie suche maior shall have taken his charge) all suche offycers as shalbe chosen for the viewe and searche of the comodities here made or to be made by you, and they to take ther othe (befor the seide maior) for the upright trewe and Lawefull dealyng in the seide faculties.

6th article. Itm. that owte of yo' whole companie ye shall electe and name to the maior for the tyme beinge viij parsons whiche shalbe arbitrators to the whole companie of the Dutche cherche and iiij<sup>th</sup> for the Wallowne church, and they shall do ther indeavors to reforme or presente suche of ther companie as shalbe to them knownen to be remisse or neglygente in p'fowrmynge the articles above specified or any other article or order hereafter thought mete and necessarie to be kepte and observed: And these viij<sup>th</sup> and iiij<sup>th</sup> parsons shall yerely be p'sented to the maior for the tyme beinge newe elected within xiiij<sup>th</sup> dayes after everie suche maior shall have

taken his charge. And yf enie of the seide viij<sup>th</sup> and iiij<sup>th</sup> shall fortwne to departe owte of this citie eyther dye that then w<sup>in</sup> vij dayes after his or ther departure or deathe the remaynente of the seide viij and fower (in the name of the whole companye) shall presente unto the maior the name or names of him or them whiche (by ye congregation) shall be elected and chosen anewe.

7th article. Itm. ye shall everie quarter yelde an accowmp<sup>t</sup>e unto the twoo aldermen aforeseyde and to the chamberlayne of the seyde Citie or to anie other thereunto appoynted of all suche customes rightes and deweties as then shalbe dewe of and for the comodities here wrowght or to be wrowght. At the makynge of everie whiche accowmp<sup>t</sup>e shalbe presente the gov'noures of ye drapers with the knape. The whiche governour shall and may be hable to redresse and reforme the fawlt<sup>s</sup> of everie suche accowmp<sup>t</sup>e yf ther shall chaunce to be enie.

#### THE RATES OF CwSTOMES.

Of everi wholle cloth called a flemish clothe	. . . . .	ij <i>d</i> .
Of everie halfe clothe	. . . . .	j <i>d</i> .
Of everie whole baye	. . . . .	ij <i>d</i> .
Of everie halfe baye	. . . . .	j <i>d</i> .
Of everie double saye	. . . . .	ij <i>d</i> .
Of everie single saye	. . . . .	j <i>d</i> .
Of everie dowble stamett	. . . . .	ij <i>d</i> .
Of everie single stamett	. . . . .	j <i>d</i> .
Of everie Flaunders frezeads	. . . . .	j <i>d</i> .
Of everie Morkado or Camian	. . . . .	q <i>to</i> .
Of everie pece of Cazell	. . . . .	q <i>to</i> .
Of everie pece of Vellwre <sup>2</sup>	. . . . .	j <i>d</i> .
Of everie pere of twrteine or Linci wolcie	. . . . .	ob.
Of everie pece of sackynge	. . . . .	ob.

And of all other comodities, nowe made, or hereafter to be made as shalbe rated by the seyd twoo aldermen and the arbitrators of yo' companye.

8th article. Of the whiche some and somes of monie the knapes of the halles shall have for the accowmp<sup>t</sup>es kepinge the twenty penie. The reste shall go to the chamber of the Citie.

9th article. Itm. the knapes of the hawll<sup>s</sup> shall kepe a booke of all the forfytures deemed and in'dged at the upper and nether ends or leade, all which forfytures shalbe devyded in manner and forme followenge, that is to saye the knapes of the hawll<sup>s</sup> to have

<sup>2</sup> Vellure (velvet) throughout this MS. "W" is written for "U."

the v<sup>th</sup> penie and the reste to be devided equallye the one halfe to the Citie and the other halfe to the occpation or companie.

10th article. Itm. ye shall not occupie the trades of m'chauntise that is to saye of foreine comodities browght from beyonde the sea here to putt to sale but by whole bolke and in grosse.

11th article. Was speciallye sett downe by ther honers aforeseyde in these wordes followenge that is to say in v articles, the fyrste beinge :

1. Itm. that the straungers maye sell the comodities of ther owne makynge (in the Citie of Norwiche) to enie parson or parsons, englyshe or straunger, withowte Lett or interruption so that they do it in the Sale hawle onelye : and that everi daye in the weke at the afternone from one of the clocke till fyve savinge the Sondaies and holie daies whiche be kepte in the churche of Englande.

2. And that the straungers, buyenge of the seyde Dwchmen ther comodities, whether he be dwellinge in the citie or no shall not be trowbled as for forreine bowght and forreine solde nor his wares attached for the same : So that the said straungers do not sell the same bowght wares agayne within the Citie, but in the salehawle onelye. And that the seid straungers (being not an inhabitaunte within the citie of Norwiche) be Lodged in an open inne and not in other straungers houses.

3. And yt shalbe Lawefull to the seyde straungers to carrye awaye and sell ther comodities in the citie of London or in any other Citie within the realme or to transporte the same beyonde the seas to suche places wher the traffyque is not prohibited, but not to sell the same in villages markett townes or comon faires in Englande.

4. And yf by the consente of the maior and aldermen and the companie of the seyde straungers (inhabitanes in Norwiche) yt shalbe hereafter thowghte more convenyent to have fewer sale dayes in the seyde hawle, then the same to be so observed.

5. And that the seyde orders shall remayne inviolated for one whole yere, and so from yere to yere untill suche tyme as (by my Lordes of the Cownsell upon complant to them made) yt shalbe otherwise thowght good and to alter the same.

12th article. Itm. yt is ordeigned and agreed that no straunger (from henceforthe) shall packe or cawse to be packed enie comodities here wrowght or made but in the p'sence of suche as shalbe appointed searchers and viewers of the same. And that everie packe so searched and viewed shall have a seale fyxed upon the

same by the seide searcher upon payne of doenge the contrarie of the same, everie owner of suche packes to forfeyte for everie packe tenn shillings to be devided as afore. And furthur everie owner of the packes to paye to the seyde viewier twoo pence for his Laboure and seale of everie suche packe.

Provided that everie viewier and sercher (after his othe taken) which shall either conseile enie unlawfull things packed and shall not presente the same to master maior for the tyme beinge shall encurre the daunger of the statute of Parjwrie and yf he shall refuze and delaye by the space of one hower (expte he or they be occupied in packinge in anie other place) to come when they shalbe requested, shall forfeite for everie tyme doeng the contrarie vj. viij*d*. to be devided the one halfe to the maior for the tyme beinge and thother halfe to the complaynauts; the serchers and viewiers to be appointed by master maior.

13th article. Itm. that everie London carrier shall enter his bonde befor master maior that he shall not receyve enie trusse fardell or other Lading whatsoever (after his dep'tinge owte of the Citie of Norwiche) neyther by hymselfe nor his assignes or servauntes wher he shall suspecte enie worke sponne yerne to be packed (so proved) and do not presente the same by hymselfe or his servauntes, or the same have not the searcher's seale thereon, he is to lose twentie powndes.

14th article. Itm. that you nor anie of you (being straungers) shall [not?] buye or bargaine with anie bocher of this citie or subburbes of the same anie sheepes' skynnes calveskynnes or lambes skynnes in payne of forfite of the same skynnes so bowght, unlesse that he or they so bwyenge shall fyrste have attayned Lyscens at master maiors handes for the time being in wrightinge. And that the seyde sheepeskynnes calveskynnes and Lambeskynnes (so Lyscensed to be bowght) shalbe converted and wrowght into Leather within the same Citie, to be devided halfe to the presentor and the other halfe to the chambre of the Citie.

15th article. Itm. for so muche as the makinge of bayes hath bene attempted and practized by dyvers of owr Citezins, whiche bayes hath not had ther full p'fection by reason they have not passed under searche nor the defaultes corrected orderlye, whiche hath not onelye ben an hynderaunce to thestymacion of them and trewe makers of them but also a reproche and a slaunder to the whole Citie of Norwich, for the reformation wherof be yt enacted generally that no parson or parsons, inglysee or straunger (from



hence forth) shall or maye putt to sale enye manner of baye or bayes, stammett, kersies, hownscottsaiies, carrells, morkados, fustian of Naples or suche lyke clothes eyther white or in cowlour befor the same be searched as wel for the trewe makynge and trewe cowltering as also beare suche seale and seales as the goodnes of them require accordinge to the orders of the straungers' hawle. In payne of forfeiture of everie suche comoditie or comodities eyther white or in cowlowre so putt to sale contrarye to this ordenaunce, the one halfe to be to the maior for the time beinge and the other halfe to hym or them that shall presente the same.

16th article. Itm. that all taylors and bottechers, shomakers and coblers of the Dwche and Wallowne nation nowe or hereafter remayninge within this Citie shall kepe none openshoppes neyther hange owte ther wares in open shewe to sell, but shall have a Lattysse of a yerde depe befor ther wyndowes of the shoppes wher they shall worke and shall onely worke and sell such thinges as they do work to ther owne cuntrye men and to none of ower Englyshe nation, in payne of everie time doenge the contrarye of this ordenaunce the taylor and shomaker to forfeyte (eyther of them) twentye shyllinges. The bottecher and cobler to forfeyte (eche of them) three shyllinges and fower pence, wherof the one halfe to be to the maior for the tyme beinge and thother halfe to hym or them that shall presente the same. And yt is further ordeyned that yf anie of the straungers (of the faculties above remembred) dwellynge within this citie shall worke with anie jentleman or yoman in the cuntrye, he or they so doeng to paye the penaltie above assigned and further to be exiled the City.

### Orders for the Hawles.

1st article. In prim. that the hawle for the searche and sealyng for bayes, Flemish clothes, stammett, kersies, Flaunders frezeados, spanishe blanketts, Howneskott sayes, bothe brod and narrow and suche Lyke for the nether leade, viz<sup>t</sup> the raire perche be styll used and kepte in that place and order that nowe it is whether these clothes above rehersed shalbe made by straungers or inglyshe men, and the over leade for all those clothes above remembred to be used and kepte at the newe hawle in the howsse on the right hande that is on the sowthesyde.

2nd article. Itm. all these clothes aforewretten to be put to sale at the sale hawle in the Longehowse on the Lefte hande at the enterance into the sale haies and nott elles wher, unlesse they

have bene fyrst browght to the hawle and ther remayned accordinge to order and receyved the token of the hawlladge in payne of everie of the clothes solde to the contrarye three shyllinges and fower pence, wherof the one halfe to be to the maior for the tyme beinge and thother halfe to ye p'sentor. The forfytware to be payde by the seller.

3rd article. Itm. that the searche and sealyng of all morkados or cangeauntrie, carrolls, grogranes, vellwres, Turteins, sackynges, and suche lyke, so manie as shalbe made within this citie or the subburbs of the same, shalbe in one of the smal howsses on the north syde of the sqare yarde of whiche comodities (ther so searched and sealed) the knape of the hawle is to have for the accompte kepyng (accordinge as they be aforetated) the twentye peny. The reste shall go to the chamber of the Citie.

4th article. Itm. the knape of the hawle shall kepe a booke of all the forfytures demed and judged at the nether and upper leade of these clothes above wretton, the which forfytures shalbe devyded in mann' and fowrme followenge, that is to saye, the knape of the hawle for the accompte kepyng to have the v<sup>th</sup> peny and the reste to be devyded equally, thone halfe to the chambre of the Citie and thother halfe to the occupacion or companye. And the seyde knape to make his accompte (of these things) quarterlye to the twoo aldermen and chamberlayn as in this booke is before mencioned, at whiche accompte ar to be presente the seyde demars, gov'nors, or arbitrators of those comodities to reforme the defaultes of that accompte yf anie shall chaunce to be.

5th article. Itm. that all those comodities (laste rehearsed) be putt to sale in an other hawle ther provyded and not ellswhear, onelesse yt hath bene fyrste browt to the hawle and remayned ther and receyved the seale of hawlladge payde accordinge to order. In payne of everie of these clothes sowle to the contrarye the seller to forfeite xij<sup>d</sup>. of everye pece, to be devided halfe to the maior for the time beinge and the other halfe to the presentor, and the haulladge of these thinges as lykewyse of the others to be payde by the buyer, viz. :—

#### THE RATES OF HAWLLADGE.

Of everie pece of dowble bayes . . .	j <sup>d</sup> .
Of everie pece of sengle bayes . . .	ob.
Of everie halfe pece of bayes . . .	q <sup>or</sup> .
Of everie whole flemishe brode clothe . . .	j <sup>d</sup> .

Of everie halfe clothe . . . .	ob.
Of everie pece of stammett kerseye . . . .	ob.
Of everie halfe pece of stammett kersye . . . .	q <sup>m</sup> .
Of everie pece of flaunders frezado . . . .	ob.
Of everie brod saye . . . .	ob.
Of everie narrowe saye . . . .	q <sup>m</sup> .
Of everie pece of vellwre . . . .	ob.
Of everie halfe pece of vellwre . . . .	q <sup>m</sup> .
Of everie pece of morkado . . . .	q <sup>m</sup> .
Of everie pece of Carell . . . .	q <sup>m</sup> .

6th article. Of whiche somes of moneye the clerk of the hawle to whose offyce shall belonge not onelye to kepe an accowmpte of the petie sommes and render the same to parsons suche as shalbe appoynted qwarterlye, but shall also take charge and safelye awnswere all such goodes as shalbe comytted to his charge kepyng, and also fyxe a seale to suche thinges as he shall receyve hawlladge of, and he to have for his travayle twentye shyllinges qwarterlye payde hym by the chamberlayne of the Citie and his dwellynge ther, that he may thereafter be attendaunte upon his offyce. To hym yt shall also belonge to open the dores of the hawles and spare them in dewe cease [season ?]

7th article. Itm. that ye shall not holde yo<sup>r</sup> consistories and other comon metynges of yo<sup>r</sup> politique gov<sup>n</sup>aunce in anie place within the seyde Citie other then in the place therfor appoynted, viz., in the over lofte on the sowth cloyster and thether all suche (as you shall have consultations withe or cawse to call befor yo<sup>r</sup>) maye resorte. And yet notw<sup>t</sup>standinge (yf eni necessite shall thereunto require) to have yo<sup>r</sup> pryvate conference wher yt shall seme to yo<sup>r</sup> most convenientes.

8th article. Provided allways that none of the comodities befor mencioned shalbe receyved into the salehawles befor they and everie of them shall fyrst have the scales (for trewe makynge and trewe cowllering) fyxed upon them. And yf anie maker shall have shewed his wares in the sale hawles by one, twoo, or three shewe dayes and can nott utter the same (havinge the seale of hawlladge payde fyxed upon his clothe) he maye at thende of everi sale daye carry awaye his clothe and brynge yt agayne so ofte as he lykethe untill he have ther sowlde yt and nott ells wher within this Citie, butt otherwise to transporte and vente the same accordinge to the orders of this booke. In payne that everye buyer and sellar Citezin or stranger (buyenge and sellynge contrari to this article) shall forfeite for everie baye, flemyshe clothe, frezado, stammett,

kerseye, and hownskott, saye eche of them for everie pece vs., for carrels, morkados, and suche lyke eche of them for everi pece ijs. vjd., one parte of whiche forfytures to be to the maior for the tyme beinge, and another parte to the presentor, and the thered to the pore of the straungers.

**The coppe of the Letter sente from the Quenis Mats. most Honorable Cownsell to the Maior and Aldermen of the Citie of Norwiche for stablyshenge these aforesayde Orders.**

After ower comendacions understandynge of yo' good conformitie by yo' Lettars of the fyrst of Aprell and also hearinge the complayntes of the straungers enhabitinge emonge you, to whome ever as yt doth appere ye have bene frendlye and Lovinge so they do shewe themselves not unthankefull but verie desyrus to deserve (by ther obedience and kyndenes) yo' contynvall favoures we comytted the hearinge of all matters to S<sup>r</sup> Walter Myldemaye, knyght, S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Smyth, knight, and the master of the rolles, who hearinge befor them both these whome you sente and also those whome the sayde straungers sente and p<sup>r</sup>ceyvinge fullye what was to be sayde on bothe partes. The moste and chiefe doleaunce and contravercie was in the xj<sup>th</sup> article of yo' booke of orders with ientle p<sup>r</sup>swasions and good reasons at the last befor them. Bothe the p<sup>r</sup>ties wer contente with this order w<sup>ch</sup> is conteyned in the paper here inclosed, the which we thought good to send you, that the seyd straungers shulde receyve yt at yo' the maior's hands, to the intente that they shulde (of you) take yt the more kyndelye and therfor be mor obediente to suche orders as ye have sett emongs them. And as we have admonished them not to repyne but to be obediente to suche good orders as ye have sett emongs them and wherto they have agreed so it is the Quenis mat<sup>r</sup> pleasure that ye shuld make no newe exactions nor laye no newe burdens upon them so longe as they shall kepe themselves in quyet, and in dewe obedience to god and her mat<sup>r</sup> lawes as hitherto they have done. Fare ye well, from Westm' the xxv<sup>th</sup> daye of Aprell 1571.

Yo' Lovinge Frendes

N. Bacon	A. (?) Northt	F. Bedford
R. Leycester	E. Clinton	W. Howarde
W. Burghleye	F. Smythe	

The pap' hereto anexed is the xj<sup>th</sup> article of this booke before wreten in that place conteyninge v p<sup>r</sup>ticulars.

It maye further please yo<sup>r</sup> good Honor that wher in the Quenis mat<sup>r</sup> Letters pattents to the maior of the Citie of Norw<sup>th</sup> and the straungers of the same is a clawse conteyned in the favowr of the seyde straungers, that the seyde clawse is in these wordes hereafter followinge, viz. :—And ower further pleasure is that no informacion be receyved in eni of owr courtes to impech or molest eni p<sup>son</sup> or parsons for doenge or usinge the benefyte or Libertie of this ower graunte upon payne of owr dyspleasure.

And in an other clawse is graunted them ther to enhabit & use the makyng of ther comodities in these wordes, viz. :— And that without anie suite vexacion or trowble of any p<sup>son</sup> or p<sup>sons</sup> and also w<sup>oute</sup> eni payne penalti or other forfytures Losse or damage, to be encurred or forfyted to us o<sup>r</sup> heires or successors for the same, the seyde severall statutes or actes of p<sup>li</sup>amente as aforeseyde or anie other acte statute provision usage custome prescription Lawe or other thyng whatsoever to the contrarie notwithstandinge.

These cawses pleaseth yo<sup>r</sup> Honor have moved the maior to be favowrable to the straungers agenst the inveiors of her highnes and yo<sup>r</sup> Honorable pleasures, and therfor do besech your honorable assystaunce agaynst them that take the benefyte of the statutes ageynst the pore straungers without cause that such may be presently sent up to receyve yo<sup>r</sup> honorable corrections from tyme to tyme as wolde violate these orders so greatly traveyled upon by ther Honors aforeseyde, for which in all dewetyfull wise we praye god for all yo<sup>r</sup> Honorable increase.

## APPENDIX VIII. 1578 (P)

DOM. S. P. ELIZ., VOL. 127, No. 81.

Noet of the matters that the Straungers bothe of the Duche and French congregacions in the Cittie of Norwiche have ben and are daylye charged w<sup>th</sup> all.

First. They pay yerly for the mayntenaunce of their owne pr . . . . and . . . . . hundreth pound<sup>℥</sup> of Lawfull Englishe money besyd<sup>℥</sup> such duties as . . . . . severall piches wherein they dwell to the mayntenaunce . . . . .

Secondlie. They paye every month for . . . . . (that is to say)

xl<sup>u</sup>. for the poor of the Duch Churche . . . . . good will  
(whereunto they are moved) to releve the . . . . .

Thirdlie. They have and dayly doe willinglie lend to sondry  
. . . . . Englishe for their better mayntenaunce dyvers sums  
of monney w<sup>th</sup>out taking . . . . . or p<sup>'</sup>fit (at all) for the same  
bnt pray and thanke God for his Blessinges.

Fourthlie. They pay to the Cittie of Norwiche every yeaere (as a  
yearely rent and Revenu unto it gratis) for sayes, bayes and other  
comodities above the som of fower hundreth poundes.

Fyftlie. Whereas a house of fortie shilling<sup>o</sup> a year before their  
coming to Norwich they nowe paye sum xij<sup>u</sup> som xiiij<sup>u</sup> rent yearly  
for the same.

Sixtli. They pay every tyme they gooe beyonde to seas for a  
pasporte of the said Cittie iij<sup>s</sup> and charged Lykwyse at Yarmothe  
before they may pase, notwithstanding that the said straungers gave  
threscore pound<sup>o</sup> toward<sup>o</sup> the mendings of Yermoth haven.

Seventhlie. Thear is payd by the Straungers at Norwich . . . . .  
thear and country thearabout<sup>o</sup> for knitting and spinning . . . . .  
above . . . . . unto whome all Laud and prayse be yelded  
. . . . .

## APPENDIX IX.

Dom. S. P. ELIZ., 160, No. 37.

(Copia).

Our humble dutyes to your Honors Remembred whereas this  
fyftene or sixtene yeres this Cittie of Norw<sup>ch</sup> have Receyved no  
small benefit by her mat<sup>'</sup> p<sup>'</sup>missions and your honors tolleracons  
of straungers artizans out of the Lowe Contryes to inhabite here  
to exercize suche making comodities as hath not bin wrought heare  
before whereby many Ruinous houses be Redified the Cittie profitted  
the poore mayntayned by working from begginge for the w<sup>ch</sup> we  
most dewtifullie doe yelde to her ma<sup>'</sup> and to your honors our  
mooste humble thanks Pleaseth it your good LL. that one Nicholas  
Wryght (an Informore) hath latly molested and troubled certayne of  
the straungers Aliens by prosses out of her mat<sup>'</sup> benche whearof  
be iij<sup>j</sup><sup>o</sup> of the cheefeste master workmen, viz:—Gerarde Vosse,  
Jaques Baskinge, Fraunces Tryon, and Anthony de Sacke, the one

for kepinge more servants then the statute doth permitte the other for utteringe of marchaundizes by retaile and one for defradinge her mat<sup>r</sup> Customes, w<sup>ch</sup> poore men do offer both their bodyes and goods at her highnes pleasure yf yt be justlie proved against them and they beinge poore men of honeste behaver not able to followe sutte haveinge not otherwys but their Labour and exercize to mayntayne them selves and a number of poore people (as well Englishe as straungers) dependinge uppon them have besought us to examen the truth of the matter w<sup>ch</sup> (at thier peticoñ) we have don and doe not fynd them geltie for any thinge that we cann Judge or deserne wheruppon they have prayed that we woulde be some mean to your Honors that the saide Wright may be called before your LL. to showe just cause of their vextion and to stande their good LL. that some finall end may be hade by your honors descretion, and the poor men shall not onlye be boundant daileye to praye to god for the Longe preservacion of your good LL. but we also most dutifullie shall holde our selves bound as we allwayes have bin to your honnors for the great faver we have Receyved of the same to the benefite of this her mat<sup>r</sup> Cittie, and thus we humblie take our Leave Norwiche this vj<sup>th</sup> Maye, 1583.

Your Honnors at Commaundement.

Robart Sucklinge, maior  
 Thomas Gleane, newlect  
 Cristofer Layer, Ald.  
 Thomas Pecke, Ald.  
 Simon Bande, Ald.  
 Nicholas Baker, Alde.  
 John Sucklinge, Ald.

Robart Yerhn, Shreve  
 Richard Bat, Ald.  
 Frauncis Ruggie, Ald.  
 Richard Baker, Ald.  
 John Sotherton, Ald.  
 Thomas Petteous, Ald.  
 Richard Ferro, Ald.

[Endorsed]. The coppie of a Letter sente from the maior and aldermen of Norwich, to the Queen's most honnorable privie Counseill.

## Early Norwich Typography.

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THE following work occurred recently in the catalogue of Mr. Albert Cohn, 53, Mohrenstrasse, Berlin. I do not think it has ever been mentioned before. How the book could be a chronicle to 1580, and yet published in 1579, is not clear. I am told Mr. J. J. Colman, M.P., has a copy of this book, probably the same.

991 (Norwich.) Chronyc. Historie der Nederlandtscher Oorlogen, Troublen en oproeren oorspronck, anvanck en eynde. Item den Standt der Religien, tot desen Jare 1580. Beschreuen durch Adam Henricipetri. Wt den Hoochduytschen in onse Nederlandtsche sprake getrouwelick ouergesedt. *Gedruct tot Noortwits na de Copie van Basel* (door Anton de Solemne) 1579. In-12., hf. bd. 300.—£15

"The art of printing was introduced into Norwich by Anthony de Solempne, one of the strangers from the Low Countries who were encouraged to settle there by Q. Elizabeth, but the productions of this early press which, perhaps, did not continue long at work, are of the utmost rarity . . . Herbert had evidently never seen a specimen . . . England, with all her boasted libraries, has never yet been able to furnish a volume from the press of this Father of Norwich Typography."—*Dr. Cotton's Typogr. Gazetteer* (1831.)

The present book was unknown to Dr. Cotton, who enumerates four other volumes from the Norwich press. Nor did either Lowndes or Bohn know of its existence. I cannot trace a single copy of the work ever sold by auction in England. Some leaves slightly water-stained, otherwise in a good condition.

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### "NORFOLCIANI BIBLIOTHECA, 4TO. 1681."

This entry from *Heber's Catalogue*, v. p. 135, has long puzzled and irritated Norfolk antiquaries, including the editor of the *Norfolk Topographer's Manual* (p. 4), who owns that he has never seen a copy. I have been always hoping to come across the book, and that it would contain a digest of all our old Norfolk literature. But the other day, looking over the catalogue of the Arundel MSS., my hopes were dashed to the ground by finding that it was only a catalogue of the library of Henry, Duke of Norfolk, which he gave to the Royal Society.

W. R.



## Rye of Hingham, &c.

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THE feudal barony of Rye of Hingham is now in abeyance among the descendants of Alina de Rye, who married John le Marescall, and died in 1271. A younger branch of the family was for some time at Swanton Morley (one of the manors belonging to the barony), and I expect is represented (through John Rye of Runhall, who died in 1461) by some mid-Norfolk farmers of the name still living in the neighbourhood, and by my namesake the professional county cricketer. Another branch *seems* to have settled at Scottow before 1333, and from this branch I may myself be descended, my first traceable ancestor, Robert Rye (died 1525), having come from the immediate neighbourhood. On the other hand he *may* have come from a younger son of the Runhall family. Can anyone help me from the court-rolls of Runhall, Scottow, Buxton, or Smallburgh? The pedigree on the other side will shew what I know already.

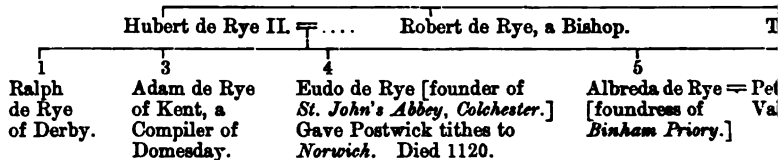
W. R.



Geoffrey de Rie, vix circa 9

Odo de Rie gave half the ch. of  
to Fescamp Abbey (*Neustria Pis.*, 2)

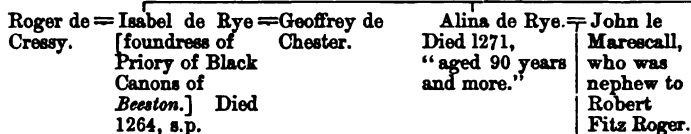
Hubert de Rye I. of Rye and  
Falaise in Normandy, vix 10



Henry de Rye [gave Deopham to monks at *Canterbury*,  
Hortun to *Salisbury*, and Aslackby to *Belvoir*.] Baron  
of Hingham. Died about 1160. Addressed a charter to  
his dearest friend, Reginald de Warrenne. Witnessed a  
charter of Wm. de Warrenne.

Hubert de Rye IV. [Kinesthorp to *Norwic*  
*Cathedral* and Hockes  
and Bergh to *Southw*  
*Priory.*] Died before

Hubert de Rye V., Baron of Hingham. Gave land in = Marg  
Kinesthorp, a hamlet of Buxton, to *Norwich*, and ante 1185 Fitz H  
gave the Templars *Aslackby*, where there are still the arms, wife o  
*Gu. a bend erm.* Died before 1188.



William de Rye of *Swanton* (another of Rye = ..  
manors, in 1268), juror of *Launditch* in 1275.

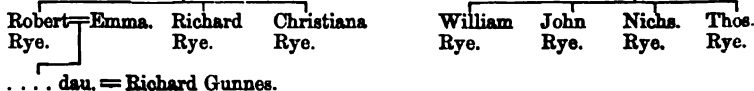
William de Rye in 1290, was [with Wm. de = .... He  
Nerford] pledge for Bogo de Clare, in 1289. mal  
pledge for William de Douglas [with Robert : Joh  
Bardulf and others.] At Stepney tourn. in kin  
1309, bore *Gu. a bend erm. a label of 3 points or.* cas

..... de Rye = Johanna, vix  
of *Swanton*. —*Sub. Roll.*

John de Rye, of *Swanton* in 1333. =  
*Sub. Roll.* Probably a minor in  
1327.

Richard Rye, of = Alice.  
Wrentham in  
Suffolk. Will  
dated 1469.

John Rye of Runhall (seven = .....  
miles from *Swanton*.) Will  
dated 1461.



.... dau. = Richard Gunnes.

Willi  
Wals  
Repr

J.....  
 eT.....  
 ).....  
 J.....  
 J.....

others.

Robert de Tony [founder of *Belvoir Priory*.]

de nes. 2 Hubert de Rye III. [part founder of <i>Norwich Priory</i> .] Gave (i.e.) tithes in Hockering, Swanton, and Buxton to Norwich. Died after 1100.	Agnes de Tony, probably widow of Wm. de Beaufoy, Bishop of Thetford, gave Horsham to <i>Salisbury</i> [foundress of <i>Aldby Priory</i> .] Alive 1130-1.
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ive = Avelina or Alice .. g [Died before 1179. : [Said to be the illegitimate daughter of William Rufus.]	Almeda or Almunda de Rye. Alive 1130.	Walter [de Rye?] [nephew of Eudo.] Buried at Colchester 1120.
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st. da. of William eline. (Afterwards .. de Dagworth?)	William de Rye. = Witnessed charter of Hubert V. 1175-80.
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Hawisia de Rye [wife of John le Marshall], who in 1245 had grant of Anselm le Marescall's house to be confined in.	Henry de Rye, a juror of Launditch [in which Hingham is situate] and held land in Scarning, one of the Rye manors, in 1250.	Lecia [de Freville?]	William de Rye, who witnessed charter of Margaret de Lacy 1245-1258.
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John de Rye, Vicar of Beeston St. Lawrence, six or seven miles from Buxton, in 1265.

r de Rye appointed escheator ultra Scotie 1296-8, at the same time as de Warenne had the custody of that com. and in 1291 had custody of the s of Elgyn and Foreys.	Martin de Rye, Rector of Caister St. Edmund (by Yarmouth), 1303.
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127.

William Rie, of <i>Scotlow</i> in 1333. =.. [Fenhall Manor in <i>Scotlow</i> was part of Buxton Manor, held of Hockering as of the Honour of Rye of Hingham.] Probably same as Wm. Rey or Reye of Honing and North Reppe also in same Subsidy Roll.	Andrew Rey of Honing 1333.
William Reye the younger, of Northrepps 1333.	

Robert Rye of Smallburgh = Elen. [close to *Scotlow*, Buxton, and Honing.] Will 1525.

1 Rye, of North m in 1562. ated by H. B. Rye.	Thomas Rye, of North = Alice. Walsham in 1560.
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William Rye, of Cromer ante 1589. Represented by E. W. Rye and the compiler.

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# The Murder of Amy Robsart.

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## INTRODUCTION.

THE wave of whitewash which has, of late years, swept over English history, and left so many important persons clean and respectable, early reached Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. If, in trying to scrape it off, an independent observer comes to the conclusion that the earlier and thicker coat which, from her own times, has made the "Virgin Queen" so shining a figure in English history, covers a very paltry woman, made up of meanness, caprice, and lechery, it may be as well for him to print his reasons for so thinking and to refer to his authorities.

This is what I now propose to do, and if the following pages, besides containing a considerable amount of hitherto unprinted matter, reprints much that others have said before, I trust the repetition may be excused, if, as I trust, it results in the collection for the first time of all the direct and indirect evidence on the question.

The cumulative proof is, I think, strong on many points, and it is some relief to find that there is no great reason to think that Elizabeth was anything more than an accessory after the fact of Amy's murder—the tragedy round which these pages centre.

It may be said that the whole thing is too absurd—

too foul—too improbable. But we must remember that Elizabeth herself was born about three months only after her father's and mother's marriage; that Elizabeth's cousin, Katherine Howard, while almost a child, had carried on a low intrigue with Mannock of Horsham, a few miles only from Blickling, Anne Boleyn's father's house. One must be indeed hard to be convinced if one ignores *all* of Mary of Scots' amours, while as to the general tone of immorality of the "Virgin" Queen's court, what can be more marked evidence than the anecdote of how Sir F. Knollys walked about with only his shirt on, reading a bawdy book to her "maids" of honour? who, by the way, must have often sat out the very broad allusions in Shakespeare.

## CHAPTER I.

### **What do we know of Amy and of the Facts of the Murder?**

It is hard to have to divest the whole subject of everything sentimental. Amy<sup>1</sup> may have been plain or pretty,<sup>2</sup> dark or fair, but no one will now ever know which, though her heavy milliners' bills seem to prove her as vain as most women are. All we know for certain is, that in 1550 her father, Sir John Robsart, who had probably come across Dudley through having had a joint grant with him of the stewardship of Rising Castle, married her to him publicly at

<sup>1</sup> Froude, throughout, calls her Anne; but the spelling is clearly Amie.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Jessopp, in his *One Generation of a Norfolk House*, p. 19, calls her the "beautiful Amy Robsart;" but I do not think he has any grounds for this, nor for his conjecture that Leicester met her first when he stayed the night at her father's house, when *en route* with his father to suppress Kett's rebellion.

the King's court at Sheen in Surrey,<sup>3</sup> she being then about eighteen years old.

Froude, led away, like Dr. Jessopp, by the temptation of importing some romance into a story which closed so pitifully, says it was a love match; but there is not the faintest proof of this, and the fact that she was the better off of the pair makes it look as though he married her for her money.

One thing is sure, that when Leicester was sent to the Tower in July, 1553, for complicity in the Lynn rebellion, she stuck to her husband, looked after his affairs, and got leave to visit him.<sup>4</sup>

In 1556 she and her husband had a restitution of the manor of Hemesby in Norfolk, and of other lands in Norfolk and Suffolk.<sup>5</sup>

The evidence adduced by Canon Jackson (*Nineteenth Century*, March, 1882, pp. 422-3) amply proves that she was not living in retirement—that she journeyed about from Christ Church to Camberwell—into Suffolk, and so on, and that she was well and even luxuriously dressed.

Her husband visited her "sundry (?) times" at Mr. Hyde's, at Denchworth near Abingdon, in 1558. So we must dismiss from our minds the idea that she was ever a prisoner.

In April, 1559, we find the "Documents relating to the reign of Elizabeth preserved in the Archives of the Simancas"<sup>6</sup> saying:—

"But at this time my Lord Robert stood so high in the favour and confidence of the Queen that it was publicly bruited about that his wife was sick, and that Elizabeth only awaited her death to marry her husband."

<sup>3</sup> *Edward VI.'s Diary* (Cam. Soc.)

<sup>4</sup> Privy Council Records, 22nd Aug., 1553; *Burleigh State Papers*, fo. 1740.

<sup>5</sup> *Originalia*, first part, 3rd and 4th Philip and Mary, rot. 18.

<sup>6</sup> By Gonzalez, London, 1865, p. 58.



A little later, on 7th September, 1559, Lady Sidney (Dudley's sister) is said to have told De Quadra, the Spanish Ambassador, that a plot had been discovered to murder the Queen and Dudley at a banquet to be given at Lord Arundel's; and later on (15th November) the Duke of Norfolk is reported to have said that "Lord Robert shall never die in his bed unless he gives over his preposterous pretensions."<sup>7</sup>

In January, 1560, we know that Amy was resident away from the court, and we find De Quadra<sup>8</sup> writing home:—

"If there be any other who knows the Queen's purpose it is my Lord Robert, in whom it is easy to recognize the King that is to be; and either I am deceived and know nothing of the English people, or they will do something to set this crooked business straight. There is not a man who does not cry out on him and her with indignation . . . She will marry none but the favoured Robert."

On the 7th March De Quadra writes again:<sup>9</sup>—

"I have just been with the Queen. She has treated me like a dog. The youth must have been complaining to her of a message which I sent him 3 days ago . . . Lord Robert is the worst young fellow I ever encountered. He is heartless, spiritless, treacherous, and false. There is not a man in England who does not cry out upon him as the Queen's ruin."

On the 27th March, again:<sup>1</sup>—

"Things are in a strange state . . . Lord Robert says that if he lives a year he will be in another position from that which he at present holds. Every day he presumes more and more, and it is now said that he means to divorce his wife."

That the names of the Queen and Dudley were closely linked together about this time is shown by the fact that on the 29th April Montague and Chamberlain write from Madrid that the Emperor's minister had given them

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<sup>7</sup> Froude, vi. p. 272.    <sup>8</sup> Ib., vi. p. 310.    <sup>9</sup> Ib., p. 334.

<sup>1</sup> Ib., p. 340.

warning that there was a conspiracy on foot to murder Elizabeth and Dudley.<sup>2</sup>

On the 13th August, 1560, Anne Dowe of Brentford is sent to prison for openly asserting that the Queen had had a child by Dudley.<sup>3</sup>

On the 8th September Amy dies—whether by fair or foul means—at Cumnor by Oxford.

On the 11th September Cecil (who had already written to Randolph on the 27th August that he was thinking of retiring) wrote him again, as Froude points out,<sup>4</sup> with some information of an extremely agitating kind. To his letter Randolph replied :—

“The first word that I read of your letter of the 11th<sup>5</sup> of this present, conferring it with such bruits and slanderous reports as have been maliciously reported by the French and their faction, so passioned my heart that no grief that I ever felt was like to it.”

On the same day that Cecil wrote (11th September) De Quadra again wrote home. His letter is printed at length by Froude,<sup>6</sup> and is to the effect that on the 3rd September the Queen had told him she had made up her mind to marry the Archduke, but that she had just now told him that it could not be. He goes on to say that Cecil, who was in disgrace (this accords with Cecil's own letter of 27th August to Randolph, talking of resigning) had told him that—

“He perceived the most manifest ruin impending over the Queen through her intimacy with Lord Robert. The Lord Robert had made himself master of the business of the State, and of the person of the Queen . . . Of Lord Robert, he said twice he would be better in Paradise than here.

<sup>2</sup> Spanish MS., Rolls House.

<sup>3</sup> Dom. S. P. xiii. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Froude, vi. p. 416.

<sup>5</sup> Froude points out that Amy's death was generally known in London on that day.

<sup>6</sup> Froude, p. 417.

" . . . . Last of all he said that they were thinking of destroying Lord Robert's wife. They had given out that she was ill ; but she was not ill at all : she was very well, and taking care not to be poisoned." <sup>7</sup>

Of course, as Froude puts it most forcibly, "It seems very unlikely that Cecil, if possessed of such deadly secrets, should have chosen the Spanish Ambassador as the depository of them." Yet, on the other hand, it is more unlikely still, to my mind, that an ambassador should have invented the whole interview, and attempted, for no purpose, to gull his principal. We know that six months before he had written, reporting Dudley's boast that he would be in another position within a year, and relating the rumour that the wife was to be divorced. Is it at all improbable that Cecil, finding his own position in court slipping away, and believing that the Queen and Dudley had not stopped at murder to promote a union which he knew would upset the Government, should, in the bitterness of his heart, have unbosomed himself to the ambassador of the most powerful European nation, a most able diplomatist, and able to feign a most living sympathy with him ? The game seemed up. Why should he not have taken his pen speedily and made himself a friend ?

Later in the same letter De Quadra writes :—

"The day after this conversation [viz., on the 4th September, four days before the murder] the Queen, on her return from hunting, told me that the Lord Robert's wife was dead, or nearly so,<sup>8</sup> and begged me to say nothing about it. Assuredly it is a matter full of shame and infamy, but for all this I do not feel sure she will immediately marry him, or indeed that she will marry him at all."

Here, again, we are on the horns of a dilemma. If the ambassador is not lying boldly and wholly unnecessarily,

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<sup>7</sup> Canon Jackson, p. 425, says there were rumours that she had a cancer.

<sup>8</sup> If De Quadra rightly reported her words, she must have known of the intended murder.

Elizabeth's words are only consonant with her being an accessory before the fact.

Just about this time Leicester wrote to Cecil :<sup>9</sup>—

"I pray you let me hear from you what you think it best for me to do. If you doubt, I pray you ask the question ; for the sooner you can advise me thither, the more I shall thank you.

"*I am sorry so sudden a chance should breed me so great a change*, for methinks I am here all this while, as it were in a dream ; and too far from the place I am bound to be. I pray you help him *that sues to be at liberty* out of so great bondage. Forget me not, though you see me not, and I will remember you."

This letter immediately precedes that of Lever (see *post*, p. 259) pressing for an enquiry into Amy's death, and it has been argued that Elizabeth had put Dudley into arrest on the charge of murdering his wife ;<sup>1</sup> but this seems very improbable.

Now, let us see what are the facts of the death as admitted by the Blount-Leicester Correspondence, printed by Adlard and others, even admitting it was a genuine cotemporary correspondence and not one afterwards concocted, as half suggested by Froude.

That Amy "very early" on the Sunday sent all her own servants<sup>2</sup> to Abingdon Fair, insisting, in fact, on their going, and allowing none of them to stay at home.

That she invited Mrs. Owen only to dine with her.

That, besides Mrs. Owen, Mrs. Odingsells and Mrs. Forster and all Mrs. Forster's servants stayed at Cumnor.

That, when Amy's servants came home from the fair,

<sup>9</sup> Haynes, p. 362.

<sup>1</sup> It is most noticeable that the Privy Council Books for this very period are missing.

<sup>2</sup> *Leicester's Commonwealth* says that Verney and Forster sent away all the servants.

Amy was found lying on the floor of the hall at the foot of a staircase, dead "as it seemeth with a fall."<sup>3</sup>

It strikes me that a lamer story was never put forward. Why was it left for Amy's servants to find the poor dead body stretched—or arranged—at the stair foot?

Of all the three gentlewomen and of all the servants did no one have occasion to pass through the centre of the building during the afternoon or evening? Is it not grossly improbable that the body should have remained undiscovered till Amy's own servants came home?

But, granted that murder had been done,<sup>4</sup> what would be more natural than for the murderers to try to deceive the servants into rushing to the conclusion that her death was an accident by letting *them* be the apparent discoverers of the "accident"?

The idea of an accident by a fall down the wide low-treaded stairs of an Elizabethan mansion is, however, absurd, nor is a suicide more probable.

Again, still accepting the evidence of the correspondence, we see that Blount himself was obviously suspicious by the way he cross-examined the landlord as to what he and what the people thought of the affair. The landlord obviously had his own opinion on the subject, but was not going to get himself into trouble by stating it. He says that "some said evil" about the affair, and uses the expression "it is said" that her servants were at the fair,

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<sup>3</sup> *Leicester's Commonwealth* hints at attempted poisoning. Cecil is said to have told De Quadra she was taking care not to be poisoned. Well might her maid say that she had at divers times heard her pray God to deliver her from desperation.

<sup>4</sup> In Dom. S. P., Eliz., xxviii. 113, which is probably the nucleus of *Leicester's Commonwealth*, it is said that "as the lady was in the country playing with her ladies at tables, she left the room, fell downstairs, and broke her neck: being thrown down by order of her lord; but he gave it out it was by chance, and no man durst say the contrary."

and "it is said" that she rose early, and so on, but adds, "which was thought a very strange thing for her to do."

Anyhow, Blount clearly is trying to get hold of the jurors and interview them, and some of them bear malice to Forster. One Smith, the foreman, writes to Dudley, apparently amicably, that it was a "very misfortune," upon which Dudley writes, that "touching Smith and the rest, I mean *no more* to deal with them." Should this be read "I have got them to do what I want, and now there is an end of the matter?" How had he "dealt" with them before?

That public suspicion was instantly aroused is clear enough. The Rev. Thos. Lever wrote to the Privy Council on the 17th September from Coventry that there was—

"A grievous and dangerous suspicion and muttering of the death of her which was the wife of my Lord Robert Dudley."

Sir Henry Sidney, though he told the Spanish Ambassador he had examined the circumstances and found nothing like foul play, was obliged to admit that Lord Robert would find it difficult to persuade the world of his innocence, and that there was hardly a person who did not believe there had been foul play, &c.<sup>5</sup>

Killigrew, writing to Throgmorton on the 10th October, admits that they all hear rumours about Amy's death.

On the Continent it seems to have been at once taken for granted that Amy was murdered by her husband at Elizabeth's instigation.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Jackson, p. 430.

<sup>6</sup> Foreign State Papers, 1561, No. 88. As long afterwards as 1561 Mundt writes to Cecil that "Most horrid lies have been written from the French Court, Brussels, and Lorraine, by certain important but most impudent personages to the German princes, concerning the Queen and her Master of the Horse."

"Mary Stuart's wit gave expression to the popular feeling. The Queen of England, she said, was about to marry her horsekeeper, who had killed his wife to make a place for her."<sup>7</sup>

Gonzalez<sup>8</sup> says:—

"Elizabeth now publicly announced her resolution shortly to marry, and the death of Leicester's wife accredited the suspicion she had chosen him. The Secretary Cecil and the Duke of Norfolk were ill affected towards her for the lavish favours she bestowed upon him. Moreover, it was bruited about that the Queen and Leicester had planned the assassination of his wife, since she was found in a country house with a stroke from the point of a dagger in her head."

The news of Amy's death spread far and wide. It was startling news if it were only a coincidence, for it had been prophesied long before. Equally of course, letters of condolence must have poured in to the favourite from all quarters. Canon Jackson, p. 431, prints one from the Earl of Huntingdon, and says that it would have simply been a piece of sickening hypocrisy if the writer had ever had the faintest inkling of ill will or ill conduct on the part of Dudley towards his wife.

Throgmorton, the English Ambassador in France, on 10th October, writes in much the same strain,<sup>9</sup> viz.:—

"My very good Lord,

"By letters from my friend, and at your Lordship's commands to Mr. Killigrew<sup>1</sup> of the 20th of the last, which I received the 7th of this present, I understand of the cruel mischance late happened to my Lady your late Bedfellow, to your discomfort. But for that God hath thus disposed of things, the greatest of your . . . . . by this time being assuaged, and the remembrance thereof partly worn, I will no further condole with your

<sup>7</sup> Froude, vi. p. 438. Throgmorton to Cecil, 20th October.

<sup>8</sup> *Documents from Simancas, relating to the Reign of Elizabeth*, p. 69.

<sup>9</sup> Record Office, State Papers, Foreign, Elizabeth, October, 1560, vol. xix. 625.

<sup>1</sup> Throgmorton soon after received a letter from Killigrew, dated 10th October, 1560, which referred to strange rumours about Amy's death, which had already reached Paris. Carefully underlining the whole sentence of seventy-two words, he admits that they all hear these rumours; but protests the whole affair was an accident. Was the underlining a hint?

Lordship thereby to renew your grief. But only say that as we be all mortal, subject to many hazards (experience daily sheweth) and have no sure abiding in this unquiet world, so is she gone before whither we must all follow, to a place of more assurance and more quiet than any can be in this vale.

"By letters from my wife I understand . . . . hath mounted me again by a nag that your Lordship hath given me, for the which I heartily thank you, for before I was a-foot. But I would thank you more if you would find the means that I might come home in post to hunt and hawk in England. And yet, though I love them well, it should be more in respect of the Queen's Majesty's service than for mine own pleasure, for to say truly it were meeter for me especially to hunt and hawk in England than to be Ambassador here as things have fallen out of late and do daily.

"By my last letters to your Lordship I wrote to the same to prepare your horse and armour, and to order yourself to encounter with the lustiest and activest gallant of this Court at the tilt who was then coming into England, since which time his going or stay have been diversly balanced, and now of late revived, &c."

*Endorsed* "10th October, 1560.

"To the L. Robert Dudley.

"he condoleth for the death of my Lord's wife."

But what else could either the Earl or the ambassador have written to an all-powerful favourite under the circumstances? If either had dared to have written that he thought murder had been committed, how long would it have been before he would have been laid by the heels in a prison, or would have felt his entrails burn with Italian poison?

What Throgmorton really *did* think<sup>2</sup> about the matter we can see for ourselves from his letter to Cecil of the 28th October, 1560. He complains that Cecil's last letter was unsatisfactory. He had expected it would somewhat satisfy and resolve him touching the greatest matter of all—the Queen's marriage. He writes strongly and vehemently—

"I know not what to think nor how to understand your letter in that point. And the bruits be so brim and so maliciously reported here touching

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<sup>2</sup> What *Cecil* thought is clear from his parallel column statement of 1566 (Froude, vii. p. 427)—"he is infamed by the death of his wife."



the marriage of the Lord Robert and the death of his wife, as I know not where to turn me nor what countenance to bear.

"Sir, I thank God I had rather perish and quail with honesty than live and beguile a little time with shame.

"And therefore I tell you plainly until I hear off or on what you think in that matter, I see no reason in the advising of her Majesty. Marry, to you I say in private, that albeit I do like him for some respects well, and esteem him for many good parts and gifts of nature that be in him and do with him well to do; yet the love, duty, and affection that I bear to the Queen's Majesty and to the surety of herself and her realm, doth and shall during my life take more place in me than any friendship or any particular case. And therefore I say if that marriage take place I know not to what purpose any advice or counsel should be given, for as I see into the matter none would serve. If you think that I have any small skill or judgment in things at home or on this side, or can conjecture sequels, I do assure you in the matter succeeding our state is in great danger of utter ruin and destruction. And so far methinketh I see into the matter, as I wish myself already dead, because I would not live in that time. I beseech you like as I deal plainly with you so to signify plainly unto me, not only what is done in that matter, but what you think will be the end.

"Thereupon you shall perceive that I will write unto her Majesty<sup>3</sup> my poor advice in such sort as becometh a true and faithful Servant. And if the matter be not already determined and so far past as advice will not serve, I require you, as you bear a true and faithful heart to her Majesty and the realm, and do desire to keep them from utter desolation and in *visceribus Jesu Christi*, I conjure you to do all your endeavour to hinder that marriage. For if it take place there is no Counsel nor advice that can help. Who would be either patron or mariner when there is no remedy to keep the ship from sinking? As we begin already to be in derision or hatred for the bruit only and nothing taken here on this side more assured than our destruction; so if it take place we shall be *opprobrium hominum et abjectio plebis*, God and religion, which be the fundaments, shall be out of estimation; the Queen our Sovereign discredited, contemned, and neglected; our country ruined, undone, and made prey.

"Wherefore with tears and sighs, as one being already almost confounded, I beseech you again and again set to your wits and all your help to stay the Commonwealth which lieth now in great hazard. Let us remember what this noble wise man said when he used these words—'Ego enim existimo melius agi cum civibus privatim si tota respublica fortunata sit quam si per singulos cives felix sit publicè vero labe factetur (?) Nam quum evertitur

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<sup>3</sup> Can this be the letter 738?

*patria, is, cui privatim bene est, nihil tamen minus et ipse evertitur, cui autem male, is in illa prosperè agente, multo magis incolumis est.'*

"For your letters they be as safe in my hand as in your own, and more safe in mine than in any messenger's.

"Think it assuredly I am as jealous of your safety and well doing as yourself, and so conceive of me."

What can we think of such a letter? He tells Cecil roundly that unless Cecil lets him know without any shilly shallying what he thinks of the affair, he for one will not write home to the Queen with the pleasant advice<sup>4</sup> in favour of the marriage, which it is clear from the context he was almost told to give. What could have been the cause for the writer's vehement, impassioned protests against the proposed marriage? Was it not, as he says, that the English people were beginning to be the object of derision and hatred from the rumour only of such a scandal, that a Queen should in October be thinking of marrying a man whose wife had met a violent and suspicious death in September?

That Cecil's letters contained deadly secrets is clear from his anxiety to have them back, which we gather from Throgmorton's reply, but the clever intriguing ambassador had no mind to part with them.

"For your letters they be as safe in my hand as in your own, and more safe in mine than in any messenger's."

Here we have the startling fact that Cecil, in little more than a month after Amy's death, is writing to Throgmorton, practically telling him to give advice he knows will be well received.<sup>4</sup>

Can we think that Cecil would have so written if he had the faintest doubt in his own mind that the Queen was seriously contemplating the step, and wisely wanted to

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<sup>4</sup> "Which amongst other things containeth your advice to have me write to Her Majesty," &c.

know how it would be received by the public generally.<sup>5</sup> Granted that she was base enough to entertain the idea at such a time, I think that we may also grant that she might well have winked at the murder, even if she were not accessory to it.<sup>6</sup>

Next we have a letter from Throgmorton to his brother ambassador (Chamberlain) in Spain, dated 19th October, 1560, urging him to write in his official capacity against the marriage. The very style of the letter and its allusions show that in October Throgmorton knew that his colleague at Madrid was well posted up in the rumours of a marriage between the Queen and Dudley even before his wife was dead.

"My friends advertise me from home that my Lord Robert's wife is dead, and hath by mischance broken her own neck; and here it is openly bruited by the French that her neck was broken, with such other appendances as I am withal brought to be weary of my life. I pray God hold His holy hand over us, and so evil be the reports as I am ashamed to write them; but as you are a wise man, and can consider how much it importeth the Queen's Majesty's honour and the Realm to have the same ceased, so I trust you will by your letters thence, as I do from hence, help to do some good for the appeasing of the same; for though there be wise men at home who know what is meet to be done in such cases, yet the advertisement thereof from ministers abroad hath a great deal more force, which I write unto you, because that we be both in one ship, and that the tempest must touch us both alike . . . ."

"From Paris the xix<sup>th</sup> of October, 1560.

"Your assured friend."

We next come to another letter<sup>7</sup> from Throgmorton to Cecil, dated 17th November, 1560. He refers to rumour in France which speaks of *Her Majesty's great inclination to live in pleasure and quietness*, that Her Majesty would do her own pleasure in all things.

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<sup>5</sup> See Jones' *Letter to Throgmorton*, p. 163.

<sup>6</sup> Record Office, *State Papers*, Elizabeth, October, 1560, xix. 690; new, No. 411.

<sup>7</sup> *Foreign State Papers* 448, vol. xix; Hardwick, i. p. 144.

"And lastly and chiefly that they take it for truth and certain that her Majesty will marry the Lord Robert Dudley, whereby they . . . . expect more discontentation thereby amongst themselves. Thus you see your sore; God grant it do not with rankling fester too far and too dangerously."

By the same post<sup>8</sup> Throgmorton writes to Dudley himself. One paragraph is worth printing.

"Much the Queen's Majesty therefore and her realm have to bethink themselves, knowing these men's just meanings there needeth no other advice, *Her Highness do consider indeed in time, and leave other . . . of less weight undone till another time.*"<sup>9</sup> I fear, yea, see before my (eyes) she shall hear of a French cast, as your Lordship termeth it, sooner than I would be glad of."

Yet another letter<sup>1</sup> the busy Throgmorton sent to England by this post. It was originally addressed to a female, but is endorsed "Throgmorton to the Marquis of Northampton and Lord Pembroke." Can it be that it was originally intended to be sent to the Queen herself? It runs thus:—

"Madam [struck through], if I thought you would be better pleased with sweet and new words than with well and old meaning I would whet my speech and affectate some novelty; but taking that you measure your friends by proof and doings, and not by show and sayings, I will leave ceremonies and circumstances, and talk to you as to my good lord.

"The bruits lately risen from thence are marvellous and marvellously talked of. They are accompanied with much spite, and set to fail (?) with great horror. They are no mean persons nor of small regard that give, in these parts, these rumours. *I never heard nor read sorer nor more slanderous discourse*; and therefore, I pray you be pleased that I say to you as I ought, to move you to do as you should, which I trust you would do though I held my peace. You were never deemed a busy-body, and especially in matters accompanied with peril. Begin not now, good my Lord,<sup>2</sup> to wrestle in a matter that is so beset with so many dangers.

"If you will trust my judgment, or if you think that I can see into the world, *esteem the marriage matter the most beset with great hazards of anything that ever you were acquainted with.* So I pray you give the looking on only,

<sup>8</sup> 1713 (?) endorsed 17 November, 1560 (now first printed.)

<sup>9</sup> Surely relates to the marriage scheme.

<sup>1</sup> Foreign State Papers 1713 (now first printed.)

<sup>2</sup> This second person singular shows the endorsement to be wrong.

if you be required or inclined to be a furtherer; and if you be so happy as not to mind it, or so zealous as to hinder it, think yourself wise for your judgment and happy for your fortune."

Next day, 18th November, 1560,<sup>3</sup> Throgmorton has occasion to write to Cecil, introducing an ambassador from the Duke of Savoy. The ambassador, he says,

"Hath to break with her Majesty, in the Duke his master's name, for marriage with the Duke of Nemours, which I perceive by communication passed between us he mindeth to set forth, *if the matter be not too far passed at home, as all the bruit is here that it is.* For this gentlemen was told by the Pope's Ambassador here that he should come into England in good time to Her Highness's marriage with the Master of her Horses.

"In case this gentleman shall find her Majesty at liberty from any such thing . . ."

Not the least interesting of the correspondence is the letter<sup>4</sup> from Jones to Throgmorton, dated 30th November, from England.

"The 26th of November all my lords of the Council dined at the Scotch Ambassador's lodging, where they were very highly feasted. I repaired thither to shew myself to my lords, where after I had attended half dinner time my lord Robert rose up and went to the Court, and in the way sent a gentleman back to will me to repair thither after him, as I did after I had declared the message to Mr. Secretary. Being come unto him he asked me whether the French Queen had said that the Queen's Majesty would marry her Horsekeeper, and told me he had seen all the discourse of your Lordship's proceedings, together with the intelligence, and that Mr. Secretary told him that the French Queen had said so. I answered that I said no such matter. He laid the matter upon me so strong as the author thereof, being avowed I would not deny that the French Queen had said that the Queen would marry the Master of the Horses. This was all he said to me, and he willed me that I should in no case let it be known to Mr. Secretary that he had told me thus much, as I have not indeed nor mean not to do, whereby I judge that Mr. Secretary did declare it only to the Queen, at whose hands my Lord Robert had it. The same night I spake to Mr. Killigrew, and having delivered your Lordship's letter and told him of the intelligence, he said in the end unto me with as it were a sad look, 'I think verily that my Lord Robert shall run away with the hare

<sup>3</sup> P. 146.

<sup>4</sup> Printed (Hardwick State Papers, i. pp. 163—9.)

and have the Queen,' to whom I answered nothing. Thus much I thought good to write before I came to speak of my proceeding with the Queen's Majesty."

He then goes on to describe his interview with the Queen.

"When I came to touch nearer the quick, 'I have heard of this before (quoth she) and he need not have sent you withal.' I said that the care you had was so great as you could not but advertise her Majesty of such things as might touch her, and that you took this to be no matter to be opened but to herself. When I came to the point that touched his race, which I set forth in as vehement terms as the case required, and that the Duke's hatred was rather to her than to the Queen her sister, she laughed, and forthwith turned herself to the one side and to the other, and set her hand upon her face. She thereupon told me that the matter had been tried in the country, and found to be contrary to which was reported, saying that he was then in the Court, and none of his at the attempt at his wife's house, and that it fell out as should neither touch his honesty, nor her honour. Quoth she, *my Ambassador knoweth somewhat of my mind in these matters.*

"She heard me very patiently, I think the rather because I made (before I spake unto her Majesty) a long protestation, as methought I had need to do, considering that my Lord Robert knew thereof as much as he did. Her Majesty promised me *fidem, taciturnitatem, et favorem*, the last whereof I found towards myself, but as for your Lordship, she not once made mention of you unto me, unless that once or twice she asked whether your Lordship willed me to declare this matter unto her, as I affirmed you did. Thus much have I thought good to write touching the Ambassador of Spain's talk. For the Venetian Ambassador's talk; she protested that she never to any Ambassador or other disclosed any . . . and nobody but Mr. Secretary knew of these matters, who was, she said, wise enough.

"When I rehearsed the terms of *veneficii* and *maleficii reus* she caused me to repeat the same twice or thrice, which, methought, did move her more than that I said touching the Ambassador of Spain's talk. For the Marquis she believed the first part, touching his affection towards her, and for the last of that he reported touching her Majesty's discourse with him for the not marrying of any other subjects, she affirmed unto me that it was never spoken unto him touching any such matter.

"The Queen's Majesty looketh not so hearty and well as she did by a great deal, and surely the matter of my Lord Robert doth much perplex her, and it is never like to take place, and the talk thereof is somewhat slack, as generally misliked, but of the settors forth thereof, who are as your Lordship knoweth.

"The Queen's Majesty stayeth the creation. The Bills were made for the purpose at the day appointed. When they were presented she, with a knife, cut them asunder. I can by no means learn, and yet I have talked with such as know much, that my Lord Robert's matters will not go as was looked for, and yet the favours be great which are shewed him at the Queen's Majesty's hands."

On the 31st December Throgmorton writes<sup>5</sup> to Cecil about the marriage in the following very strong terms:—

"*But if Her Majesty do so foully forget herself in her marriage as the bruit runneth here, never think to bring anything to pass either here or elsewhere. I would you did hear the lamentations, the declamations, and sundry affections which have course here for that matter . . .* Sir, after I had written this much, the Ambassador of Spain came to visit me; who did, amongst other matters, earnestly require me to tell him whether the Queen's Majesty was not secretly married to the Lord Robert, for, said he, I assure you this Court is full of it."

In less than a month, if there is any truth at all in De Quadra's letters, a suggestion was actually thrown out by the Dudley faction to the Spanish Ambassador that in effect the Queen would re-establish the Roman Catholic religion in exchange for Spanish support to her marriage to Dudley. The letter, which is dated 22nd January, cannot be much curtailed, so I subjoin most of it from Froude.<sup>6</sup>

"There came lately to me Sir Henry Sidney, who is married to Lord Robert's sister, a high-spirited noble sort of person, and one of the best men the Queen has about the Court. After speaking, generally, on ordinary matters, he came to the affair of his brother-in-law, and the substance of his words to me was this: The marriage was now in everybody's mouth, he said; and the Queen, I must be aware, was very anxious for it. He was surprised that I had not advised your Majesty to use the opportunity to gain Lord Robert's good will. Your Majesty would find Lord Robert as ready to obey you and do you service as one of your own vassals; with more to the same purpose.

"I replied that all which I had heard about the business was of such a character that I had not ventured to write two lines to your Majesty on the

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<sup>5</sup> Throgmorton to Cecil, 31st December, Conway MSS., Rolls House.

<sup>6</sup> Vol. vi. pp. 452-3.

subject. Neither the Queen nor Lord Robert had spoken to me about it; and it was of no more importance to your Majesty to gain the good will of English sovereigns than it was to them to gain your Majesty's. Your Majesty could not divine the Queen's wishes; and she had shown so little inclination to follow your advice when you had offered it hitherto, that you could not be expected to volunteer your opinion.

"He admitted this, he is evidently well acquainted with what has passed, and he is not too prejudiced to see the truth. But he added that if I could be satisfied about Lady Dudley's death, he thought I could not object to informing your Majesty of what he had said. The Queen and Lord Robert were lovers, but they intended honest marriage, and nothing wrong had taken place between them which could not be set right with your Majesty's help. *As to Lady Dudley's death, he said that he had examined carefully into the circumstances, and he was satisfied that it had been accidental, although he admitted that others thought differently.*

"If this was true, I replied, things were not so bad as I had believed. Had Lady Dudley been murdered, God and man would surely have punished so abominable a crime. *Lord Robert however would find it difficult to persuade the world of his innocence.*

"*He allowed that there was hardly a person who did not believe that there had been foul play. The preachers in their pulpits spoke of it, not sparing even the honour of the Queen, and this, he said, had brought her to consider whether she could not restore order in the realm in these matters of religion. She was anxious to do it, and Lord Robert to his own knowledge would be ready to assist.*"

On the 13th February, 1561, Dudley himself waited on De Quadra, and repeated the proposition, and a day or two after Elizabeth herself saw him, and De Quadra writes thus of the interview: <sup>7</sup>—

"It came to this, that she was no angel. She could not deny that she had a strong regard for the many excellent qualities which she saw in Lord Robert. She had not, indeed, resolved to marry either him or anyone; only every day she felt more and more the want of a husband. She thought her own people would like to see her married to an Englishman."

Gonzalez in his *Documents from the Simancas relating to the Reign of Elizabeth*, under date 25th February, 1561, writes:—

"The rumours that Elizabeth now indulged in the most intimate inter-

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<sup>7</sup> Sharon Turner's *Elizabeth*, p. 569; Strickland's *Elizabeth*, vi. p. 257.



course with Leicester became so brim that in one of the audiences with De Quadra she tried to exculpate herself, showing the arrangement of her private apartments, and seeking to persuade him that the reports were unfounded and calumnious . . . . . The preachers now alluded in disparaging terms to Elizabeth in their sermons, because of her conduct with Leicester . . . . . At the beginning of April, Elizabeth, under the pretext that Leicester's apartments, being low, were unhealthy, gave him others on an upper story near to her own."

Matters went on like this till the 30th June, when, if De Quadra is to be believed, he was on the Thames in a barge with the Queen and Dudley.<sup>8</sup>

"When they began to talk nonsense, and went so far that Lord Robert at last said as I was on the spot there was no reason why they should not be married if the Queen pleased. She said that perhaps I did not understand sufficient English. I let them trifle in this way for a time, and then I said gravely to them both that if they would be guided by me they would shake off the tyranny of those men who were oppressing the realm and them, they would restore religion and good order, and they could then marry when they pleased," &c.

Now, very shortly afterwards we get a letter from Cecil to Throgmorton on the 15th July, in which<sup>9</sup> Cecil deplored

"the increasing credit with her of the Spanish Ambassador. There were secrets between them which he could not penetrate, only he knew that De Quadra seemed to seek by all means overt and covert to further the marriage, and to procure the Lord Robert to have evil thoughts of himself" [Cecil.]

This seems to me an independent and most trustworthy corroboration of one at least of De Quadra's letters.

In 1561 Throgmorton was apparently suggesting a match with the King of Sweden, for in April, 1561, the Earl of Bedford writes,<sup>1</sup> cautioning him that—

"The Lord Robert says that Throckmorton has of late written letters greatly in favour of the marriage with the King [of Sweden], if it so be it is more than I hear of gladly."

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<sup>8</sup> Froude, vi. p. 497.

<sup>9</sup> Ib. 504.

<sup>1</sup> Foreign State Papers, 1561, No. 84.

A few months later (28th June) Sir Henry Neville writes<sup>2</sup> to Throgmorton, telling him that there had been a great breach between the Queen and Dudley about the creation, but that now they were as friendly as ever.

"And yet to some, if they talk with her of having of him she will pup with her mouth, and say that she will not be fellow with the Duchess of Norfolk, that men will come and ask for my Lord's Grace; and when it is answered she may make him King she will in no way agree unto."

Here we cease to get any further light on the subject from Throgmorton's letters.<sup>3</sup> The Queen gradually saw the folly of her ways, and the danger was over, except for poor Throgmorton, for whom Dudley had a long reckoning.<sup>4</sup>

Amy has been dead seven years. There is now little chance of the Queen marrying Dudley, and men's minds are exercised with other things, and have forgotten the old scandal. Dudley is now Earl of Leicester, and more powerful than ever, when (in 1567) it is rumoured about that John Appleyard had said that "he had not been satisfied with the verdict of the jury at her death, but that for the sake of Dudley he had covered the murder of his sister."

A proper blackguard this on his own showing,<sup>5</sup> and therefore of course less worthy of credit; but it is worth while to print below what we know about him.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Foreign State Papers, No. 272.

<sup>3</sup> He seems to have become disheartened and disgusted with the whole affair, for in the Privy Council Books (16 July, 1562) there is direction that he "shall write more often hither, notwithstanding he shall have no great matter to signify for the better clearing of such perplexities as here may be conceived of [from] the want of hearing from him."

<sup>4</sup> *Post*, p. 288.

<sup>5</sup> Of course, one must not forget he denied having said anything of the sort, but his denial is a weak one, and probably made in sight of the rack.

<sup>6</sup> He was born about 1526, and was, as we have seen, half-brother to Amy Robeart, and was present at the inquest. In his examination before the

When brought up before the Privy Council he apparently denied ever having said anything of the sort, and tried to make out that he only said some one had tried to get him to say so. He told a cock and bull story about staying at Hampton Court in the previous year, and some one coming over the water and getting him to go across to talk to a mysterious stranger,<sup>7</sup> who argued with him that "as the Earl of Leicester did him no more good, although he had deserved much at his hand, if he would be content to stir some matter against him for the death of his wife he should

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Council he alleged that in Queen Mary's time he had ventured himself, and all that he had, to help the Earl and his wife. He was, no doubt, in with the Dudleys in the Lady Jane rebellion, for he was ordered not to be dismissed from the Court (Privy Council Register, 26 July, 1553), and in 1556 was again in attendance before the commissioners.

We know he was Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk in 1558.

He had, at the Earl's intercession (see his confession in Appendix), a grant to seize concealed prizes; and in 1564 he was made Keeper of the Marshalsea, and was suing Peres Edgecombe in the Admiralty Court—no doubt by virtue of this grant. The Earl had also been bound for him to discharge a debt of £400; got him made Porter of Berwick in 1565 (Privy Council Books), and Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk.

In 1566 he sold all his furniture in Stanfield Hall to Edward Flowerdew, who came to live there.—Blom. *Norfol.* ii. p. 502.

That he was a disappointed man is clear enough, for in his confession he talks of having received many fair promises of good turns from the Earl, and never had the fruits thereof. He admits the Earl, of late, had sent him to Ireland, and given him £100 in his purse and 100 marks a year; but then wanted him to go to France and stay there, which looks suspicious. Cecil, however, clearly thought he was unduly favoured by Leicester.

In 1570 he broke out into open rebellion, plotting (i. a.) the imprisonment of Leicester, and was ordered to be hung.

In 1574 he was a prisoner in Norwich Castle; but, then being ill, was allowed to live in the Sheriff's house and then in the Dean's.—Privy Council Register.

I do not know when he died, unless he is the John Appleyard whose Inq. p. m. was taken in 1596.

<sup>7</sup> The insinuation shown by these confessions (see Appendix) was clearly that the proposition came from the Duke of Norfolk and Earl of Sussex, by way of intrigue against Leicester.

find good maintenance therein, and should not want £1000 to relieve him." To this Appleyard made out that he replied in the negative, with much show of virtuous indignation.

When writing to the Council from the Fleet Prison<sup>8</sup> on the last of May, 1567, he desires to have a copy of the verdict presented by the coroner, whereby he might see what the jury found, and that he might then take some learned advice in what sort he might best proceed, or rather hope to begin the trial of the cause, adding that possibly the sight of the verdict might fully satisfy him.<sup>9</sup>

A "copy of the verdict" seems to have been sent to him, for on the 4th June he writes, returning it, stating that he finds in it

"Not only such proofs testified under the oaths of 15 persons how my late sister by misfortune happened of [her] death, but also such manifest and plain demonstration thereof as hath fully and clearly satisfied and persuaded me,"

and, having thus made his submission, proceeds to beg abjectly for mercy.<sup>1</sup>

From a letter preserved in the Pepys MSS. at Cambridge, (with Blount's other letters so often cited) is one<sup>2</sup> from Blount to Leicester about 1566, referring to his having been sent for by the Council to be cross-questioned about Amy's death. He tells Leicester he is very sorry that he had not been able to speak with him before he was examined. It seems that *more than one* of Amy's relations had been raising questions about her death; that Appleyard had been offered £1000 to give evidence; and "that Leicester in an interview with Appleyard had been so angry that Blount thought he would have run him through the body."

This is the last scrap yet found about the ill-fated Amy.

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<sup>8</sup> Having himself recently been Marshal of the Marshalsea, I suppose he was sent to the Fleet for extra security.

<sup>9</sup> Hatfield Papers (now first printed in Appendix).

<sup>1</sup> Ib. (now first printed in Appendix).

<sup>2</sup> Froude, vi. p. 424, n.

## CHAPTER II.

## What do we know of Queen Elizabeth?

Sir Geoffrey Boleyn, her great-grandfather on the mother's side, was Lord Mayor of London in 1457, was a successful London merchant, and married Anne, daughter and coheiress of Thomas, Lord Hoo and Hastings. He is said to have been descended from a family long settled at Sall in Norfolk; but very careful search (and I think I may say that my opportunities for searching about Norfolk pedigrees are not worse than any one else's) has failed to convince me that there is the slightest foundation for this assertion. That he sprang from a Norfolk family there is little doubt, for he bought a Norfolk manor (Blickling), and the name was not uncommon in the county, but always among people of the lower classes, *e.g.*, Edmund Boleyn, shoemaker, 33rd Henry VI. (List of Norwich Freemen.) But the earliest Boleyn I can trace at Sall is the Thomas Boleyn who bought land at Sall of Thomas de Bekham in 1370,<sup>3</sup> and (with others) of Wm. Parmonter and wife,<sup>4</sup> in 6th Ric. II. He was, I apprehend, the same man as the Thomas Boleyn who died 30th April, 1411, and the father of the Jeffrey Boleyn who we know from the will of the Lord Mayor was the latter's father. This Jeffrey and his wife Alice are buried in Sall Church, the date of his death being 1440.

Blomefield, following the family pedigree, derives them from a John de Boleyne of Salle, who is said to have lived at Salle in 1283, and to have been probably son of "Simon

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<sup>3</sup> Feet of Fines, 43rd Edward III., No. 1385.

<sup>4</sup> Feet of Fines, 6th Richard II., No 85.

de Boleyne who purchased lands by fine in the 37th Hen. III." But my recent *Calendar of Norfolk Fines* enables me to say positively that no such fine exists, if it ever existed.

"De Boleyn," in fact, simply meant "of Boulogne," which place was called "Boleyn" in 1462.<sup>5</sup> The name naturally occurs in England at various times, *e.g.* in 1398, when a William Boleyn granted lands in Lincolnshire to the poor of Markeby,<sup>6</sup> but there is nothing at present to connect the scattered individuals who bore it with any family resident at Sall.

Hepworth Dixon, a bad witness I will admit, says<sup>7</sup> that the Boleyns "were a family of French descent, who came to London for the sake of trade;" but I do not know his authority.

The fact would seem to be that the Queen descended from a family of no consequence at all, who settled at Sall at a comparatively recent period. That they were not of knightly degree is clear enough from the absolute silence of all feodaries, inquisitions post mortem, and so on, as to them.

Of one or two facts about her pedigree there can be no question. She was the daughter of Ann Boleyn by Henry the VIIIth. They were married on the 31st May, and she was born little more than three months later, on the 7th September, 1533. That therefore she was the fruit of an adulterous intercourse between her parents there can be no doubt.

By some Ann Boleyn is made out an innocent woman, who, with her brother, was judicially murdered by her husband to make room for Jane Seymour, whom he married

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<sup>5</sup> *Paston Letters*.

<sup>6</sup> Inq. ad quod dam. 22nd Richard II.; also see Rot. Pat. i. p. 328. Ralph, son and heir of Alan Boleyn (1314-15.)

<sup>7</sup> *A History of Two Queens*, vol. 1, p. 362.

the day after her execution. If this view is right Elizabeth was the daughter of an atrocious murderer. But if, as Froude believes, and I think the evidence shows, that Ann Boleyn was guilty of the crimes attributed to her, then Elizabeth was the daughter of the vilest and most abandoned woman of her age.

There is no third course. Elizabeth must have been, on one side or the other, the daughter of an abominable parent—male or female as you please, and the inheritor of as bad blood as might be.

There is one possibility, and it is charitable to point it out. There is no doubt that Elizabeth had an hereditary strain of madness in her, for Anne Boleyn's grandmother, Margaret Butler, was undoubtedly insane, a fact which has, I think, hitherto escaped attention.<sup>8</sup> But, on the other hand there must have been something bad in Anne's own mother's blood, for it must not be forgotten that her mother was the aunt of Catherine Howard, as to whose guilt I believe there is no question of doubt.

As to Elizabeth's precocity there can also be little doubt, for when *under fifteen* years old she clearly entertained the idea of marrying Lord Seymour, the Admiral, then a middle-aged man;<sup>9</sup> for on the 28th January, 1548,<sup>1</sup> she speaks of never agreeing thereto "without the Council's consent." That scandal was rife about her even at that very early age is clear, for she herself refers to rumours that she was in child by the Admiral. The confessions of the various domestics before the Privy Council show (1) that the

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<sup>8</sup> Esch. Inq. Camb. and Hunt. 30th and 31st Henry VIII. (now first printed in Appendix VI.)

<sup>9</sup> "A man furthest from the fear of God that I ever knew or heard of in England."—Latimer.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix.

Admiral used to go to Elizabeth's chamber without the Queen, "which of some was disliked"; (2) that the Queen was jealous of Elizabeth, having found her in the Admiral's arms; and (3) that the Admiral took improper liberties with her in the morning in bed, "striking her upon the back and on the buttocks familiarly."

I have printed all these confessions and depositions in Appendix V., so my readers will be able to judge for themselves what as to credit they deserve.

Not long after, Elizabeth was in charge of Sir Henry Bedingfeld at Woodstock. One of her servants there was a Francis *Verney*. She was in charge of Sir Thomas Pope at Hatfield in 1555, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Walter *Blount*. Whether there is anything in the coincidence of this Verney and this Blount with the Verney and Blount of the murder who can say?

Accusations against Elizabeth for acts of immorality with hosts of people have been brought forward from time to time. It is impossible that all of them could have been true. But she was probably guilty of improprieties so gross that the rough Englishmen of the day could hardly believe that there was no fire where there was so much smoke.

Many names of her so-called favourites have been linked with hers in scandal, but of several, such as Sir William Pickering,<sup>2</sup> as early as 1559, and Sir John Perrot,<sup>3</sup> there is no evidence at all of any improprieties; while as to the Earl of Essex her favouritism began when the Queen was so old, and he so young, that it is hardly probable there was anything but Platonic affection between them.

Nor is there much more in the alleged intimacy with the French Ambassador, De Simyer, first mentioned in Mary

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<sup>2</sup> See Gonzalez' *Archives of the Simancas*, p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*.



of Scots' abusive letter. There are only three facts bearing on his alleged intrigue, and they may mean nothing after all. He died suddenly, it is said of Dudley's poison. Elizabeth herself wrote very favourably of him to Sir Amyas Paulet;<sup>4</sup> and in July, 1579, when Hatton and he were with the Queen in a barge between Deptford and Greenwich, a shot was fired into it which wounded one of the rowers, and may have been meant for De Simyer, who Camden says was "a most choice courtier, exquisitely skilled in love toys, pleasant conceits, and court dalliances."

But when we come to Dudley and Hatton the case is different, and we have something more like proof. Neither man had the faintest pretensions to statesmanlike ability, but the one was made Master of the Horse and practically Prime Minister, and the other Lord Keeper. Both men were extremely comely in appearance, and both were loaded with gifts by the Queen. Leicester's gifts began from the moment that the Queen had power to give him anything, but just at the time Hatton came into favour there was a strange intermission of them, for it will be seen by the two tables collected by me from the Patent and other Rolls (Appendix XV.) during the 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th Elizabeth, Leicester had four gifts, and nothing at all in 11th and 12th, while Hatton had twelve.

Why, we may well ask, were these enormous presents given to these two courtiers of no intrinsic merit, who never served her but badly, when the ablest and keenest statesman of the day went hardly rewarded at all?

Deservedly or not, scandal was rife about Elizabeth and Leicester very early in the former's reign. People failed to understand why the Queen should have at once so highly promoted, and so richly rewarded, a man as to whose public character no good at all events was known.

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<sup>4</sup> Additional MSS. 15891, fo. 6b.

On the 13th of August, 1560, Cecil received the examinations of divers people in Essex as to slanderous reports against the Queen, and Anne Dowe of Brentwood was sent to prison for openly asserting that the Queen had had a child by Dudley.<sup>5</sup>

About the same time, Thomas Burley of Totnes said "that the Lord Robert dyd swyve the Queen."<sup>6</sup>

In 1563, depositions were taken before two Justices of the Peace, as to one Robert Brooke, an innkeeper of Devizes, having spread rumours that the Queen had been gotten with child by Lord Robert.<sup>7</sup>

"A lewde Pasquyle sette forthe by certeen of the Parlyament men in 8th Elizabeth,"<sup>8</sup> may also be consulted.

In 1570, Mr. Marsham at Norwich, said that "my Lord of Leicester had two children by the Queen," and was sentenced to lose both his ears or pay £100,<sup>9</sup> a very mild punishment, when we consider how poor Stubbs suffered for a much milder offence.

One Mather, in 1571, accused the Queen of personal impropriety with both Leicester and Hatton.<sup>1</sup>

In 1572, Archbishop Parker writes to Burghley that some one had accused the Queen of incontinence with the Earl of Leicester and Mr. Hatton.<sup>2</sup>

Still later, in 1578, we have John Gunter's information against Mr. Darrell,<sup>3</sup> who is accused of having said that the Queen "was a drunkard and a naughty woman of her body;" and about the same time, Francis Edderman of

<sup>5</sup> Domestic State Papers, Elizabeth, xiii. 21.

<sup>6</sup> Hatfield Papers, §§§.

<sup>7</sup> Harl. MSS. 6690, art. 24, noted by J. G. Nichols in *Notes and Queries*, second series, vii. p. 106.

<sup>8</sup> Cambridge University MSS. F. fo. v. 14, note 7.

<sup>9</sup> Lodge's *Illustrations of British History*, i. pp. 514-15.

<sup>1</sup> Murdin's State Papers, p. 204.

<sup>2</sup> Lansdowne MSS., 15, art. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Printed in: Appendix IX., X., and XI.

Chester is reported to have said that "the Earl hath had two children by the Queen."<sup>4</sup>

So much for her intimacy with Leicester, which, rightly or wrongly, provoked the strongest rumours of impropriety all over England. Whether she sinned with him or not my readers must judge for themselves. It is not necessary for the purpose of the present enquiry to prove that she did, and the above rumours are set down only to prove how intimate their relations must have been to cause them. Granted that such relations were extremely intimate, and De Quadra's direct evidence of the Queen's foreknowledge of Amy's death, and of her intention to marry Leicester, is immensely strengthened.

It will be remembered that the intimacy, flirtation, or whatever you like to call it, between the Queen and Leicester, was broken in upon by another with Hatton; and as this episode is a curious one, and is supported by some documentary evidence, it is worth while to go somewhat closely into it. I have already pointed out the circumstance that while this interruption was taking place, the golden stream from the Court was entirely diverted from Leicester to Hatton, but it would be hard indeed to know *why*, if we exclude the popular idea.

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<sup>4</sup> It is said that there is an entry in a well-kept, "partially illuminated MS.," preserved at the Free School at Shrewsbury, as to an illegitimate son of the Queen by Dudley having been educated there. See *Antiquary*, iii. p. 250.

As to this child, "Arthur Dudley," see Lingard, vi. 669, and note E. E. 718.

Gonzalez (*Documents from Simancas relating to the Reign of Elizabeth*, p. 89) under date 11th April, 1564, says, "there was now a rumour that from Richmond Elizabeth went to Werwich. [Gonzalez's editor suggests Barwick, but surely the idea was Warwick.—W. R.] Some said it was to relieve herself from a womanly frailty."

Henry IV. of France said, by way of a joke to a Scotchman, "there are three things inscrutable to intelligence, one being whether Queen Elizabeth was a maid or not."—Turner, iv. p. 688.

Hatton was a man of no great family or estate, and is usually said to have attracted the Queen's attention in 1561, by his graceful dancing at a masque given by the Members of the Inner Temple.

It was not however till 1568 that he became the recipient of the Queen's bounty to any extent.<sup>5</sup> In 1570 rumours of his intimacy with the Queen were beginning to spread, but the period of the actual intimacy, if any, must have been short; for from 1572 he was apparently being displaced by the young Earl of Oxford.

It is in connection with this episode that we get the most singular written proof of incontinency against the Queen, viz., in the undoubtedly genuine<sup>6</sup> letter of Edward Dyer to Hatton, dated 9th October, 1572, in which he gives him some excellent advice not to reproach Elizabeth for a change in her sentiments, and says:—

"First of all you must consider with whom you have to deal, and what we be towards her who, *though she do descend very much in her sex as a woman*, yet we may not forget her place and the nature of it as our Sovereign."

Some of Hatton's own letters to the Queen, in which he styles himself sometimes "Lids" or "Lyddes" and sometimes your "Mutton," and addresses her in cypher, are couched in language which, as Nicolas says, is that of an ardent and successful lover, *e.g.*—

"Would God I were with you but for one hour. Bear with me, my most dear, sweet lady. *Passion overcomes me*. I can write no more. Love me, for I love you."

This is no euphuistic admiration to a Virgin Queen, but the hot strong words of a love, burning or simulated.

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<sup>5</sup> During the 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th Elizabeth, Leicester received four gifts only, while Hatton had twelve.

<sup>6</sup> Hatton's *Life*, p. 17. I am aware that the genuineness of this letter has been doubted (see *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, vii. p. 283), but it seems to me on very slight grounds. It has become too much a habit of writers to deny the authenticity of documents which do not fit in with their preconceived ideas of history.

Hatton<sup>7</sup> himself is reported to have said of Elizabeth, that the Queen did fish for men's souls, and had so sweet a bait that no one could escape her network.—*Campbell*, ii., p. 162.

One very strong argument in favour of the position that Elizabeth really, in the ordinary acceptance of the word, loved her favourites, is the jealousy she shewed when any of them married or thought of getting married. When Leicester eventually married Lettice Devereux he was sent practically to prison, and narrowly escaped a cell in the Tower, while she was banished from the court. When Raleigh, aged forty, was rash enough to marry young Elizabeth Throgmorton, he was sent to the Tower, though Queen Elizabeth was fifty-nine years old.

Of Elizabeth's personal meanness, how she starved her fleet, how she broke Hatton's heart by insisting on the repayment of money, how she quietly sold up Leicester's and Walsingham's properties after their deaths; of her extreme vanity,<sup>8</sup> how she owned three thousand dresses, but bullied her maids of honor if they emulated her splendour, and of her other bad qualities, one might write pages; but they would have but slight bearing on her connection with the crime we are investigating, except to shew how false and undeserved is the high character<sup>9</sup> which has been stereotyped for her by most historians.

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<sup>7</sup> Naunton, p. 93, says of Hatton that he was "a mere vegetable of the court that sprang up at night and sunk again in his noon."

As to the general reputation of Elizabeth see Naunton in his *Fragmenta Regalia*, p. 5, where he says that "the whole course of her government . . . was . . . noted but with one stain or taint." The editor of this edition (1824) chooses to consider this the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots. *See quare*. This "conclusion" (p. 161) in which he says "how easily I might have dashed in too much of the strain of pollution" gives us a clearer idea of what he really thought.

<sup>8</sup> Melville's report of his long interview with her, and how she fished for compliments, is most amusing.

<sup>9</sup> I am informed that a Latin work by Elizabeth has recently been found at the Public Record Office, of which the Latinity is terribly bad.

Nor, indeed, is it necessary for our purpose for us to make up our minds definitely as to whether she was guilty of actual immorality with either Leicester or Hatton. She may have been many times on the very brink of sin, and never have plunged into it.<sup>1</sup> Her desire, her anticipation, would have supplied the inducement for the murder to a vain man like Leicester, as much if not more than an actual consummation would have done.

But I contend that it is impossible to avoid the conclusion, from the evidence printed in the foregoing pages, either that Elizabeth knew that her rival's murder was being contemplated, and did not interfere to prevent it—in which case she was an accessory before the fact—or that she must after the event have guessed, for she was no fool, that murder had been done to facilitate Leicester's plans, in which case she was, in effect, an accessory after the fact.

### CHAPTER III.

#### What do we know about the Earl of Leicester?

"Here lyes the noble Warrior that never blunted sword,  
Here lyes the noble Courtier that never kept his word,  
Here lyes his Excellency that governed all the State,  
Here lyes the Lord of Leicester that all the world did hate."<sup>2</sup>

As we have said of Elizabeth, so we may truly say of Leicester<sup>3</sup>—he came from a bad stock.<sup>4</sup> His grandfather was the Dudley of the infamous firm of Empson and Dudley.

<sup>1</sup> This view is supported in the very able article on "Queen Elizabeth and her Favourites" in the *Quarterly Review* of 1854, pp. 240-1. Elizabeth's entire innocence is argued at great length but little force in *Fraser's Magazine*, vol. xlviii. pp. 371 and 489.

<sup>2</sup> Ascribed to Sir Walter Raleigh, *Notes and Queries*, 3rd Series, v. p. 109.

<sup>3</sup> For convenience sake I call him Leicester throughout.

<sup>4</sup> His pedigree was deduced, by courtly heralds, from the great family of Dudley; but others have doubted this, I think with reason.

His aunt Elizabeth's eldest son (Charles, Lord Stourton) was a murderer, and was hung for one of the most cowardly murders ever perpetrated.<sup>5</sup> His father was accused of shortening the life of Edward VI. by poison.

Himself the son and grandson of traitors who both had suffered on the scaffold, he had followed in their footsteps before he was a man; for whether or not his father had helped the scholar-king to his quiet grave, Dudley himself was one of those who immediately tried to turn his death to profit by joining in Lady Jane Grey's rebellion; for his share in which he was sentenced to death as a traitor.

Early in life his ambition was so high that the Privy Council had to warn him against giving liveries like the King of Spain's.

Directly Elizabeth, who is said to have been brought up with him, came to the throne, she made him Master of her Horse and a Knight of the Garter. There was a rule in the Statutes of that Order that candidates for it must be "Knights without reproach." He had been attainted for treason, and this seemed a fatal obstacle to his elevation; but the Queen persuaded the Chapter to specially vary their rules to meet his case.

He had married Amy Robsart in 1550, eight years before, but had had no children by her. She had been, as far as we know, a good wife to him. When he was in prison she came to him; and one of the scraps we have about her shows that she managed his estate in his absence. For some time before her death she was living apart from him in the country—whether of her free will or because the Queen was jealous of her, just as she afterwards was of Lettice Devereux, and had similarly banished her from the court, no one is now likely to find out.

In April, 1559, rumours began to be spread that his wife

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<sup>5</sup> He was hung at Salisbury in 1557.

was sick, and that Elizabeth would marry him if she died. These rumours were persistently continued to the day of her death. Other rumours were rife as to the existence of improper intimacy between him and Elizabeth. Whether these rumours were true need not here be discussed; but that they existed before Amy's death cannot be doubted for a moment.

It was said Amy had a cancer, that she was to be divorced, that she feared poison, and so on. She was moved to a large lonely house at Cumnor near Oxford, which one of Leicester's retainers had recently hired of the Queen's physician. She prayed God nightly to be delivered from desperation—which is not to be wondered at if she had heard the rumours she was to be poisoned; and found herself moved to the house of the physician of her who was her rival. One Sunday (8th September, 1560), when all her own servants are away (we are told they were sent away by her!), she is found dead at the foot of a staircase in Cumnor Hall. Foul play, it is admitted on all hands, was immediately suspected. The jury are a long while finding a verdict of accidental death. The return of the coroner or the depositions have never been found. Leicester never stirs from the Court, but sends a cousin to arrange matters, and afterwards gives his wife a splendid funeral. It is said she had been hastily buried at Cumnor, and disinterred to disarm suspicion. The parish register, which might have corroborated this, is missing.

A Puritan divine of note boldly writes to the Privy Council that there was a grievous and dangerous suspicion and muttering as to Amy's death, and asking for further enquiry. The register of the Privy Council for this very period is missing, though the volumes before and afterwards are perfect.

Immediately after Amy's death the rumours of Leicester's approaching marriage to the Queen gain redoubled force. The day the news of her death reached London Cecil wrote



to Randolph with such and the like rumours. The Spanish Ambassador wrote home on the same day to the same effect. Killigrew had heard all about it; so had Throgmorton; and, in fact, so had every one. Throgmorton, our ambassador at Paris, wrote to Cecil that England would be ruined if the Queen so foully forgot herself as to marry Leicester. Unless he believed that she actually wished to do so, can it be supposed he would have dared to risk his neck by writing such a letter. What Cecil's own opinion was on the subject, we know well enough from his notes.

Later on, I think, I shall show that there is no doubt that Elizabeth long seriously entertained the idea of marrying Leicester. There was but a poor chance of Leicester getting a divorce from a blameless wife, so the motive of the crime which was apparently to lead to so splendid a reward is clear enough.

Though it so happened that he never obtained the prize itself, rewards were showered on him by Elizabeth almost immediately after Amy's death: an annuity of £1000, the Lieutenantancy and Constableness of Windsor Castle and Forest, various remunerative patents, the Lordship and Castle of Kenilworth (on which he is said to have *spent* £60,000), and the Earldom of Leicester followed rapidly. Nor, except during the zenith of Hatton's favouritism, did the royal bounty ever cease during his life.<sup>6</sup>

The question of course will occur to every one—why and for what were these enormous bounties given? It could not be for rewards for statesmanlike successes, for he never succeeded in matters of public policy, and indeed Cecil, Throgmorton, and others who did, went comparatively empty handed.

It may be asked, what was the general character of the man? Possibly this one death was a coincidence only, and

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<sup>6</sup> See Appendix XV.

possibly these great gifts were a reward for high worth and general amiability.

Let us therefore look at Leicester's general character. It is noteworthy that none of his cotemporaries have a good word to say of him, while as to recent searchers after historical truth, one cannot altogether ignore the conclusions arrived at by independent witnesses who have not had in their minds the present enquiry. One of such is John Bruce, F.S.A., the Treasurer of the Camden Society; who in his introduction to the *Correspondence of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leycester, during his Government of the Low Countries*, London, 1844, says (xlii.), "To fall out of favour with Leicester was to become the object of his unsparing abuse, and if in his power, of vindictive persecution." Again, he refers (xliii.) to Leicester's "tenacious hatred" of the Earl of Sussex; "John," he says, "is right the late Earl of Sussex's son; he will so dissemble, so crouch, and so cunningly carry his doings as no man living would imagine that there were half the malice or vindictive mind that doth plainly his deeds prove to be." At p. xlv. Mr. Bruce sums up that his letters "manifest a violent, ill-regulated temper, an unprincipled recklessness as to means, a harsh revengeful spirit which might be hurried by circumstances into the commission of the very worst of those crimes which have been popularly attributed to Leicester."

We know what Cecil thought of him, and how he says of him "in friendship none, in reputation hated of many;" but of the independent evidence of the cotemporary bad reputation<sup>1</sup> of Leicester, one sample may suffice. The Lord Chamberlain said that "if he should commit to prison every one who spoke evil of Leicester he should make as many

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<sup>1</sup> Nor was the next generation more inclined to him. Camden the antiquary, in his *History of Elizabeth*, though he could not have been wronged by him, is as bitter as possible on him.

prisons in London as there were dwelling-houses."—*Mannington's Diary*, Camden Society, p. 137.

That he was a man of loose and lascivious life there is no doubt, as he acknowledged his bastard son.

*Naunton*, who had every opportunity of knowing the truth, says (p. 40) that he is reported "to have died by that poison which he had prepared for others, wherein they report him a rare artist," and goes on to say, "I fear he was too well seen in the aphorisms and principles of Nicholas the Florentine [*Machiavelli*] and in the teaching of *Cæsar Borgia*."

It may here be convenient to note what poisonings have been attributed to Leicester by the author of *Leicester's Commonwealth* and others.

In 1571 SIR NICHOLAS THROGMORTON was at supper in Leicester's house when "he was seized in a most violent manner by an imposthumation in his lungs, and died within a few days, but not without suspicion of poison."—Camden's *History of Queen Elizabeth*, ii. p. 152. The author of the *Commonwealth* says that Leicester was called away from table to attend the court, and made Sir Nicholas take his place, and therein to be served as he was, "and soon after by a surfeit there taken he died of a strange incurable vomit. But the day before his death he declared to a great friend of his all the circumstances and causes of his disease, which he affirmed plainly to be poison given him in a sallet at supper, inveighing most earnestly against the Earl's cruel and bloody disposition, affirming him to be the wickedest, most perilous, and perfidious man under heaven."

In a *Life* in verse of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton (Harl. MS. 6353-1, 229 stanzas of six lines), after speaking of a reconciliation between him and the Earl of Leicester, the writer says—

"Who so believes a foe late reconciled  
Is for the most part spitefully beguiled."

Now Throgmorton, we know, in 1560, was hinting suspicion and doubts to Cecil. He afterwards goes over to Leicester, and becomes intimate with him, with the ultimate result of dying suddenly in his old enemy's house, as we learn from a letter of Leicester himself, in which he says, "We have lost on Monday our good friend Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, who died in my house, being there taken suddenly in great extremity on Tuesday before. His lungs were perished, but a sudden cold he had taken was the cause of his speedy death."

LORD SHEFFIELD. His wife is said to have been a favourite of Leicester's, and to "have had the same fortune to have her husband die quickly with an extreme rheum in his head (as it was given out) but as others say with an artificial catharr that stopped his breath."<sup>8</sup>

There seems little reason to doubt that Leicester was criminally intimate with her. He is said to have married her privately. She was Douglas, daughter of William, Lord Howard of Effingham, and some say<sup>9</sup> that she herself had some ill potions given her, so that she hardly escaped death with the loss of her hair and nails.

WALTER DEVEREUX,<sup>1</sup> Earl of Essex, died 22nd September, 1576.

He had been serving in Ireland with distinguished success, when he was recalled to the court, it is said at the instance of Leicester, against whom he is said to have expressed his resentment too eagerly. He was then sent back again to Ireland, with the empty title of Earl Marshal of Ireland, and shortly afterwards our author states that "when he was coming home with intent to revenge himself

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<sup>8</sup> The *Memoirs of Gervase Holles* speak of his being poisoned in London by an Italian physician.

<sup>9</sup> Dugdale.

<sup>1</sup> Earl of Essex, father of Robert Devereux the favourite, exiled 1601.

upon my Lord of Leicester, for begetting his wife with child in his absence . . . my Lord of Leicester hearing thereof, wanted not a friend or two to accompany the Deputy, and among others a couple of the Earl's own servants, Compton (if I miss not his name) yeoman of his bottles, and Godwick Lloyd, his secretary, entertained afterwards by my Lord of Leicester; and so he died by the way, of an extreme flux, caused by an *Italian* receipt (as all his friends are well assured), the maker whereof was a surgeon (as is believed) that then was newly come to my Lord from Italy; a cunning man and sure in operation."

" . . . It was my chance to come to the understanding of divers particulars concerning that thing, both from one Lea an Irishman, Robin Homines, and others, who were present at Dentheu's house, the merchant at Dublin, upon the Key, where this horrible murder was committed.

"The matter was wrought especially by Compton, yeoman of the bottles, and by the procurement of Godwick Lloyd . . . and there was poisoned at the same time and with the same cup (as given of courtesie by the Earl), one Mrs. Alice Drakott, a godly gentlewoman whom the Earl affectioned much, who, departing thence towards her own house, which was 18 miles off, . . . began to fall sick very grievously upon the way, and continued with increase of pains and excessive torment, by vomiting until she died, which was the Sunday before the Earl's death, ensuing the Friday after; and when she was dead her body was swollen into a monstrous bigness and deformity, &c."

The writer goes on to say that Robin Homines the page, who in ordinary course tasted the cup, slightly, was also taken ill, but escaped with the loss of his hair.

Devereux's body was opened,<sup>2</sup> which points to an immediate

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<sup>2</sup> See Sir Henry Sidney's letter to the Council.

suspicion of poisoning, and Sidney's letter to the Council, denying that he was poisoned, admits "that his cupbearer was falsely accused of intermingling poison with his wine." Anyhow, Leicester secretly married<sup>3</sup> his widow, and is said to have assassinated *Mons. Simier* for discovering the marriage to the Queen. It is singular that the insulting letter of Mary of Scots accuses Elizabeth of improper intimacy with Simier.—*Life of Hatton*, p. 15.

Again, for the same reason, he is said to have murdered Cardinal Chatillian, the author of *Leicester's Commonwealth*, saying, p. 32:—

"CARDINAL CHATILIAN (as I have said before), having accused the Lord of Leicester to the Queen's Majesty about the marriage, and after passing from London towards France, died by the way at Canterbury of a burning fever."

THOMAS RATCLIFFE, EARL OF SUSSEX, one of the most honest men of the day, frequently said "that Leicester's covetousness and his other vices were intolerable; that he had more authority with the Queen than all the rest of the nobility . . . that his pride, laziness, luxury, and dissolute manners were not to be borne, and there was hardly a good man in the nation who was not, in his heart, convinced of the truth of all this, and did not wish to see this ill man humbled."

On 9th of June, 1583, he died suddenly at his house at Bermondsey, and is reported to have said to his friends on his deathbed,<sup>4</sup> "beware of the Gypsie, for he will be too hard for you all: you know not the Beast as well as I do."

"LADY LENOX (p. 37), who was also of the Blood Royal of Scotland, as all men know, and therefore little liked by Leicester," is said to have been visited a little before her

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<sup>3</sup> Some say at once, others on 21st September, 1578.

<sup>4</sup> Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*, p. 49.

death by him; "but as soon as he was departed the good lady fell into such a flux as by no means could be stayed so long as she had life in her body." The writer goes on to say that she suspected him herself.<sup>5</sup>

Of course, all these seven accusations may have been untrue; but the facts that the seven alleged victims died suddenly under circumstances of grave suspicion cannot be denied, and the gist of the accusation is pithily summed up by the author of *Leicester's Commonwealth* (p. 30) thus:—"His lordship had a special fortune that when he desired any woman's favour, then what person soever standeth in his way hath the luck to die quickly."

There must be a limit to a man's fair "luck," and if it appears that whoever stood seriously in his way, whether in politics or war, conveniently dies, we can only come to the conclusion they were artificially removed. If a series of sudden deaths happen which fit in with one man's desires and interests, surely one cannot believe them all to have been accidents.

"Many fell in his time," saith a great man of that age, "who saw not the hand that pulled them down; and as many died that knew not their own disease."<sup>6</sup> He would not trust his familiars above one year,<sup>7</sup> but either transported them to foreign service or wafted them to another world."

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<sup>5</sup> Among other crimes attributed to Leicester, are the attempted assassination of the Earl of Ormond, the cruel judicial murder of Arden of Warwickshire, nominally for treason, but really because he objected to him for his adultery and other crimes, and had openly defamed him as an upstart;" and the alleged conspiracy to kill Mary of Scots in prison. He is said to have sent a casuist with a case of conscience to Walsingham to satisfy him of the moral expediency of ridding the State of her by an Italian philtre (Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, 1840, ii. p. 315), and that the plot was thwarted by Sir Drew Drury, her keeper.

<sup>6</sup> Bohun's *Full Account of the Character of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 83.

<sup>7</sup> To give the devil his due, this seems untrue. See the cases of Verney and Blunt.

We now pass to the enquiry who were, or might have been, his instruments in these poisonings.<sup>8</sup>

We hear first of SALVADOR, the Italian chemist,<sup>9</sup> who was succeeded by

DR. JULIO, the Italian physician, so frequently mentioned in the *Commonwealth*, e.g., at p. 96, where it is said Leicester quarrelled with the Archbishop of Canterbury, because he condemned the Doctor's unlawful marriage with another man's wife; and at p. 29, where it is said Leicester procured a dispensation for him to have two wives at once.

I find a Dr. Julio, no doubt the same man, sent by Cecil to Lord Mountjoy in May, 1566, at Poole, when the latter was apparently busy with mineral copperas and alum works.—Domestic State Papers.

In 1573 he was attending Sir Christopher Hatton by the Queen's orders (*Nicholas' Memoirs*.) I have heard it suggested that he was identical with Dr. Cæsar next mentioned, who had a son *Julius*, but it is obvious that this is not the case, from Dr. Dee writing simultaneously to Dr. Cæsar and Dr. Julio.—*Dee's Diary* in 1597, p. 60.

<sup>8</sup> That the dread of secret poisoning was rife in the reign of Elizabeth could be proved abundantly. One or two references, however, will suffice here. On the 27th January, 1572, one Richard Bexley writes to Burghley, advising him not to take any physic of Dr. Gyfford, recently from Rome, lest he might be "Italianated" (Dom. S. P., Eliz., lxxv., No. 27), which shows that a phrase had actually been coined to express "secret poisoning." Again, in 1569, Sir Henry Nevill writes that the Duke of Norfolk will appoint no other than his own man "at the filling of his flagons" (ib. lxx., No. 2.) Lopez's attempt to poison the Queen is well known.

As early as 1561 it had become necessary to surround the Queen with precautions against poison. Not an untasted dish might be brought to her table, not a glove or a handkerchief might approach her person which had not been scrutinized, and she was dosed weekly with supposed antidotes.—Minutes for the Queen's person, Burghley Papers.

<sup>9</sup> Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, 1840, ii. p. 315.



DR. CÆSAR, or Cæsar Dalmare, or Cæsar Adelmars, was Physician to Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth, and son of Peter and Maria Dalmarius.—Chalmers' *Biographical Dictionary*.

This Cæsar is said to have come to England in 1550 (Foss), and *see* pedigree in Burke's *Commoners*, ii. p. 18, and in Le Neve's *Pedigrees of Knights*, Harl. Soc. Pub. p. 88.

In the 2nd Elizabeth (1559-60) we find a license to assign to him a messuage in Bishopgate, late the Priory of St. Helen.—Orig. 2nd Elizabeth, 1st part. From the 9th Elizabeth to his death he received a pension of £50 per annum from the Crown.—Pell. Off. Issue Rolls.

He died in 1569, and had been head of the medical department to Queen Elizabeth, who gave him some beneficial leases under the Crown (Foss), and *see* Orig. 10th Elizabeth, 2nd part.

There was however another Cæsar, an Italian surgeon with whom Leicester had several transactions, living in 1586,<sup>1</sup> and the reference I have found to him is the most startling and unexpected corroboration of the *Commonwealth* writer's statements.

It occurs in the *Leicester Correspondence* (Cam. Soc., p. 409), in a letter from Leicester to Walsingham, dated 4th September, 1586, written when the Earl was in the Low Countries, and the passage runs thus:—"I received a

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<sup>1</sup> For a report of Dr. Cæsar, dated 1590, *see* Rep. Hist. MSS. Commission, pp. 264, 270, 272, 286 *bis*, and 408. A Dr. Cæsar was, in November, 1597, in communication with Dr. Julio and Dr. Dee; Dr. Dee himself, nearly twenty years (1578) before, had been sent abroad on the Queen's service, by the Earl of Leicester (*Dee's Diary*, Cam. Soc. p. 5.) What service could this have been? Another Cæsar was Henry Cæsar, who, on the 9th December, 1588, writes from Paris to Walsingham. He was apparently a spy, sent over there four years ago.—Domestic State Papers, addenda, 1588.

letter from Sir Edward Stafford, wherein he doth give me warning of one Cæsar, an Italian, that is gone into England, and doth mean to come over to me for some mischief. By his description, it should be a surgeon, for there are two Italians, both surgeons, and both their names Cæsars, and be both of Rome and *very villains, yet they found great favour of me in England.*<sup>2</sup> If it be either of them, as he saith this man confessed he served me, it were not amiss he and his companion were stayed there, or else, if they desire earnestly to come over to me, give me warning, and write your letters by them to me, *and then I will handle them well enough here;* in the meantime, if they linger there, for fear of Her Majesty, clap them up, *for she is their principal mark."*

It is curious that Leicester himself is said by some to have been poisoned by accident (*Notes and Queries*, 1st Series, ix. p. 354), and by others, by his Countess Lettice, widow of the Earl of Essex, to cover an intrigue with Christopher Blunt, gentleman of Leicester's Horse, see *Athen. Oxon.*, ii. col. 74 and 75.

So much for Leicester and his life. I think few will deny that he was such a man as would not let any sentimental scruples stand in the way of his advancement, if he could profit by a crime committed on his behalf, without being detected in a share of it.

The best possible view of the case for him would be that some impetuous follower had too aptly studied the story of Becket, but the surroundings of his life and the shadows of his other crimes seem to me to prevent the acceptance of this theory.

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<sup>2</sup> Cool, to say the least of it!

## CHAPTER IV.

## A Summary.

I have now to summarize what I have collected in the former chapters. What is it that they disclose?

On the one hand, a young Queen, low born on her mother's side—undoubtedly conceived in adultery—with a strain of madness in her blood, the daughter of either a mother who was the vilest woman who ever lived, or of a father who was a cruel murderer (according to which view you like to take—*one* must be true)—a Queen who, as a girl, permitted liberties and indecencies of a gross character—and who is first cousin to the abandoned Catherine Howard—brought up from her youth on terms of intimacy with a handsome intriguing man—a woman who allows herself to be addressed by her favourites in strains of hot passion, not courtly compliment, and who to the end of a long life is childishly vain, mean, cruel, and vacillating.

On the other hand, a man with villainy and conspiracy in his blood,—the son and grandson of men beheaded for treason, and himself a traitor before his beard was grown. A man who employs Italian “physicians,” and who has the singular good luck to have his wife and his enemies die off like rotten sheep just at the times which suit him best. A man admittedly immoral to the last degree, and who acknowledges that he employs “very villains,” whom he wants to get hold of very much indeed when they afterwards threaten him. A man hated by all,<sup>3</sup> who, like his enemies, dies too suddenly for nature.

Of the pair scandal is rife long before Amy's death, and

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<sup>3</sup> “In friendship *none* but such as shall have of the Queen. In reputation *hated of many*,” says Cecil.—Froude, vi. p. 425.

continues long after. Their marriage is rumoured everywhere. The death of the woman who stops it is foretold. She is to die of poison, of cancer, of this, that, and the other. She is known to pray God in her need to deliver her from desperation. She does die just at the critical time, and no man can say he saw her death; but it was a violent one, and the explanation given is an extremely improbable one.

Her husband, with whom his defenders tell us she lived so happily and pleasantly, is within a few miles of her when he hears the news. He must have known the occurrence was of the highest possible importance to himself for good or evil; but, instead of himself hastening to the spot, he sends his cousin Blount to enquire into the matter. He dared not look at his dead wife's white face.

The cousin is to go to the coroner and specially charge him about the choice of the jury. It is true that on the face of his instructions he is told to ask for the most discreet and substantial men; but what must the coroner have thought as he read between the lines that the favourite Dudley was interesting himself in the choice of the jury? Is it not a broad hint that a jury is to be packed who will at all events not be unfriendly to Dudley?

When the jury is chosen we find Blount writing that he is to meet one or two of them at Abingdon, and Dudley telling him in reply that he has received a letter from Smith, their foreman, but that as to him and the rest he means "no more" to deal with them. Can we believe that a jury thus tampered with by a queen's favourite would give an honest verdict?

We must now examine the direct evidence that the Queen intended to marry Dudley (1) at a time when he was notoriously a married man, and (2) shortly after he had become a widower. If she contemplated the former

alternative I think there can be little doubt that she was an accessory before the fact of the murder.

The evidence on this first point is solely that of the Spanish Ambassador, De Quadra, as contained in his letters home, of January, 7th March, and 27th March, 1560. If it is true it is strong enough to criminate Elizabeth, for, after showing that there were rumours in that January it was easy to recognize in Lord Robert the King that was to be, and that the Queen would marry none but him, he writes that on the 3rd of September he had a conversation with Cecil (cited before, p. 256) in which he had said that "they" were thinking of destroying Lord Robert's wife, and that on the day after this conversation *the Queen had told him Lord Robert's wife was dead, or nearly so, and begged him to say nothing about it.* Now this would be on the 4th, four days before the murder!

De Quadra's letter is dated on the 11th, so of course the whole thing *may* have been a fabrication; but I will defer the consideration of this, and of the probability of his evidence generally till I have summed up the evidence on the second point, viz., did Elizabeth seriously contemplate marrying Dudley very shortly after the murder?

Here, again, our chief witness is De Quadra, but on this point he is luckily corroborated in many ways, a fact which should increase the credibility of his evidence on the first point, for it is hardly a less monstrous thing for a Queen to think of marrying a subject immediately after his wife's death than to imagine the possibility before her death.

The first to speak is Gonzalez, who says (p. 260) that Elizabeth publicly announced her resolution shortly to marry Leicester. Next we get Throgmorton, who writes from Paris on the 28th October about the rumours as to the marriage of the Queen, and earnestly advises against it. Ambassadors don't write home to prime ministers in this strain without

good reason. Besides, it is clear from his letter he has been asked for his advice on the proposed marriage.

Most important of all is Jones' letter to Throgmorton of the 30th November (p. 266), reporting his interviews with Killigrew and the Queen. The former told him, "with a sad look," that he verily thought that Lord Robert should run away with the hare and have the Queen; and the latter strenuously defended her favourite from the accusation of his wife's murder.

But it is from De Quadra's letters that we get the most information. On the 22nd January (p. 268) he says, Sir Henry Sidney<sup>4</sup> (Dudley's brother-in-law) called on him and asked for the Spanish co-operation as to the marriage, saying that the Queen was very anxious for it. On the 13th February, 1561 (p. 269), he writes as to an interview with Elizabeth herself, in which she said she had a strong regard for Lord Robert, and thought her own people would like to see her married to an Englishman. Again, on the 30th June, he writes about an interview, at which the Queen, Dudley, and he were present, at which the proposed marriage was openly spoken about.

Of course it will be said that De Quadra was a notorious liar, and that his despatches home are too absurd to be believed. But though he may have lied like a diplomatist or a dentist in the interests of his country, it has never been suggested that he lied to his employer. He seems to have been a faithful, if unscrupulous, man; and it is ridiculous to suppose that he would, for no possible reason, invent these stories for the benefit of Philip. The risk of detection would have been great, the punishment prompt and severe, and the object—nothing. It might certainly be suggested that the calumnies were invented, and sent home to Spain for the

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<sup>4</sup> The warm, if weak, championship of Dudley by Sidney, against the charges made against him in *Leicester's Commonwealth*, must not be forgotten.

purpose of vilifying a Protestant queen. But there is no trace that they were ever even shown to anyone; and they seemed to have slept among the archives of the Simancas till quite the other day.

Again, it will be said that it is highly unlikely that the Queen would have these *tête à tête* confidential interviews with a foreign ambassador; but here we are met with the distinct statement of Cecil, on 15th July (p. 270), that De Quadra's credit with the Queen was increasing, and that there were secrets between them which he could not penetrate, only he knew that De Quadra seemed to seek, by all means overt and covert, to further the marriage.

But it is not De Quadra alone who speaks as to the Queen's wish to marry Dudley. Later on, Melville, the Scotch Ambassador, writes<sup>5</sup> that she told him that she would have married Dudley herself had she been able; and De Silva (De Quadra's successor), about the same time, the autumn of 1564, writes<sup>6</sup> that "again and again she has said to me, 'I am insulted both in England and abroad, for having shown more favour than I ought to have done to the Lord Robert,' and that Lord Robert had been with him, saying that the Queen had put off their marriage so long that he had begun to fear she would never marry him at all." Again, Elizabeth said to De Foix, in 1565, that she could have loved Leicester, but her subjects objected, and she was bound to consult their wishes.<sup>7</sup> There seems, therefore, very little reason to doubt that Elizabeth did, indecently soon after her favourite became a widower, seriously intend to marry him.

Now comes the question, *who* arranged the murder? The writer of *Leicester's Commonwealth* accuses Varney and Forster. Of course, no tittle of direct evidence can be

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<sup>5</sup> Froude, vii. p. 213, and see Melville, p. 119, for another interview to the same effect.

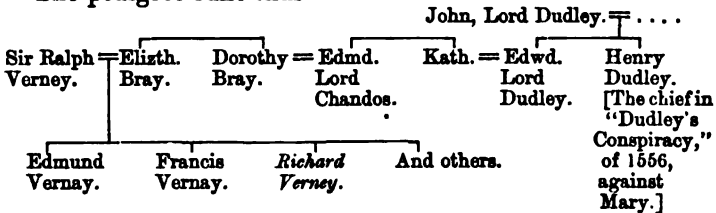
<sup>6</sup> Id. p. 217—219. <sup>7</sup> Id. vii. p. 209.

adduced at this length of time, if, indeed, it ever could have been, for the perpetrators, no doubt, took care there should be none; but let us consider if there are any improbabilities in the accusation, who the two accused men were, and if they can be connected in any way with Leicester.

RICHARD VARNEY,<sup>8</sup> or Verney, is said to have been Leicester's page, and no doubt is the same man as the "Vernay" who came in for some of the clothes of the Earl of Warwick when that unhappy nobleman was spoiled by the Dudleys in 1550.

It has been assumed that the Verney of the murder was the Sir Richard Verney, the head of a well-known Warwickshire family, as has been thought by Adlard and Canon Jackson. But this cannot be, for we find him alive long after the knight's death on 26th July, 1567. Nor on the pedigree of the Warwickshire Verneys is there any other *Richard*. But the confusion has arisen from Leicester knowing two families of Verney. There was another well-known family of Verneys of Bucks and Herts,<sup>9</sup> not only connected with the Dudleys by marriage, but disastrously connected with them in dangerous emprises.

The pedigree runs thus—



Again, in the *Verney Papers*, p. 60, n., it is said that John Dudley, who is buried in Stoke Newington Church, married a connection of the Verneys.

One of the three sons—Francis Verney—was tried for

<sup>8</sup> Bartlett and Pettigrew boldly doubted his existence, and seemed to think him a creation of Sir Walter Scott's.

<sup>9</sup> See the *Verney Papers* (Camden Soc.)



his share in Henry Dudley's conspiracy of 1556.<sup>1</sup> He had been Elizabeth's own servant<sup>2</sup> when she was in charge of Bedingfeld at Woodstock, was accused of tampering with a letter, and altogether was decidedly a *mauvais sujet*, for it was said of him that if there were any practice of ill within all England he would be privy to it. Another of the three brothers—Edmund Verney—was also concerned in the same conspiracy.<sup>3</sup> Can it be doubted that the third brother, Richard, of whom nothing is known, was the Richard Verney, Dudley's confidential servant?

In 1559 we find *Sir* Richard Verney's servant going on an errand to Amy for Dudley, and himself recommended to Dudley as a Commissioner for Warwickshire.<sup>4</sup>

In 1560 "Richard Verney"—whether the knight or his namesake is doubtful (though I think the sequence shows it was the latter) writes<sup>5</sup> on the 20th April to Dudley that he cannot come to him at once as requested, but that he *and his* "shall always be to his best power advanced in any your affair or commandment when opportunity offereth."

What was it he was wanted for? We only know that the Spanish Ambassador, exactly a month before, wrote<sup>6</sup> to his master that "Lord Robert says that if he lives a year he will be in another position from that which he at present holds. Every day he presumes more, and it is now said that he means to divorce his wife."

On the 8th September next Amy is murdered. Among those who were admittedly<sup>7</sup> in the house was a Mrs.

<sup>1</sup> He was fourth son of Sir Ralph Verney.—*Trans. Norf. and Norw. Arch. Soc.* iv. p. 177, and see pp. 187, 194.

<sup>2</sup> Did Dudley recommend him for the berth?

<sup>3</sup> And see Dom. S. P., *Mary*, viii. No. 77.

<sup>4</sup> *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1882, p. 418.

<sup>5</sup> G, drawer 9, at Longleat.

<sup>6</sup> Froude, vi. p. 340.

<sup>7</sup> See Blount's second letter to Dudley.

Odingsells,<sup>8</sup> who is incriminated by the author of *Leicester's Commonwealth*. Considerable search has enabled me to ascertain that Anne, *Sir* Richard Verney's aunt, married Edward Odingsells. What was Mrs. Anne Odingsells doing at Cumnor in 1560 in the house with Dudley's steward (Forster) and Dudley's wife Amy?

In 1562<sup>9</sup> (4th Elizabeth) one of the Richard Verneys is made Sheriff of Warwick and Leicester, the former county being that in which the murder was committed, and so placed in the position to suppress any unpleasant rumours. Never before was a Verney thought of sufficient importance to be sheriff of his county. The coincidence is strange.

*Sir* Richard Verney dies 26th July, 1567,<sup>1</sup> and Dudley afterwards gets a grant of the wardship of his son, about whom he wrote a letter (in his own interest!) in 1574.

On 27th December, 1566 (9th Elizabeth) a *John* Verney had a special pardon.

On 29th October, 1572 (14th Elizabeth), Richard Verney had the grant of the Marshalship of the Bench for life, having previously, on the 30th July, been made the Marshal of the Marshalsea when John Appleyard (Amy's half-brother), who had been appointed in 1564, was turned out.

It must have been convenient for Leicester to have two such men in such places with practical power over life and limb.<sup>2</sup>

Richard Verney was dead by the 15th November, 1575, on which day Leicester wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury, requesting him not to fill up the place of Marshal of the King's Bench, void by the death of Mr. Verney.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Canon Jackson calls her the sister of the Mr. Hyde, with whom Amy had formerly stopped at Denchworth.

<sup>9</sup> Canon Jackson says 1561.

<sup>1</sup> Inq. p. m. Glouc. 9 Eliz. 134.

<sup>2</sup> A *Sir Richard* Blount was Governor of the Tower ante 1564 (Dom. S. P. xxxiv. No. 47.) Was he a relative of Thos. Blount, Leicester's "cousin?"

<sup>3</sup> Dom. S. P. cv. No. 75. As to a bond for good behaviour entered into at his request see *id.* c. vii. No. 93.

So much for Verney or Varney.

Now about ANTONY FORSTER.

He was, admittedly, the tenant of Cumnor Place, under Dr. Owen, the Queen's physician. How long he had held it before Amy's death, why he leased it, and how it was that he became in a position to buy the freehold of the house the year after Amy's death, are questions not likely to be easily answered now.

He was Dudley's Receiver and Controller, and in 1572 was M.P. for Abingdon.

Canon Jackson says<sup>4</sup> that "he was highly esteemed as a most honest gentleman by his neighbours at Abingdon," forgetting that Blount, in his letter to Dudley shortly after the murder, refers to some of the jury being "very enemies to Anthony Forster," and to "malice to Forster" being a special inducement to the coroner's jury to enquire closely into the matter, no doubt to see if they could incriminate him.

That Forster had business dealings with the Odingsells and Butlers, who are also accused of complicity in the murder, I have ascertained from searches in the Public Record Office.<sup>5</sup> He bought Cumnor of Owen shortly after Amy's death, but did so without license; and it was not till the 4th Elizabeth that he had a "pardon" for doing so. I do not know whether anything turns on this, or whether the purchase was kept secret till the murder blew over. In the 6th Elizabeth Forster had (in conjunction with William Gryce) large grants of land in Derbyshire and fourteen other counties, which I believe were late the possessions of the Priory of Pentney in Norfolk.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1882.

<sup>5</sup> Pat. Roll, 2nd Elizabeth, 11th part; Close Roll, 3rd Elizabeth, 10th part; Orig. Roll, 4th Elizabeth, 1st part; Close Roll, 7th Elizabeth, 1st part.

<sup>6</sup> Pat. Roll, 6th Elizabeth, 4th part; Orig., 6th Elizabeth, 3rd part; Blomefield's *Norfolk*, ix. p. 498.

Canon Jackson says<sup>7</sup> that Forster died in 1569; but on the same page refers to his being returned to Parliament in 1572, for Abingdon. He really died shortly before 10th November, 1572,<sup>8</sup> on which day he was buried. It is very singular that by his will he gave the right to buy Cumnor to Leicester, who is said to have duly exercised it, and became the owner.<sup>9</sup>

A word or two about Cumnor Hall will be in place here. Amy was removed to it a year or so before her death. The anonymous denouncer says her life was first tried, but unsuccessfully, with poison. To whom did the Hall then belong? To Dr. Owen, *the Queen's physician*, whose wife stayed in the house at and before Amy's death!

The next question is—is there any proof that those who are accused by the anonymous writer of complicity with the crime, or those who winked at it, received any undue favours or rewards from Leicester after it was over? Cecil obviously thought they did, for in his celebrated parallel-column comparison of the relative merits and demerits of Leicester and the Prince of Austria,<sup>1</sup> he points out that Leicester would enhance his particular friends to wealth, to office, and to lands, and mentions (*i.e.*) Forster and Appleyard.

As to *Forster*, we have seen that immediately after the murder he was able to buy Cumnor, and that four years later he had large grants of priory lands, and that he was so far advanced in the world as to become a Member of Parliament. He also had a lease of Whitley Leaze, Berks, as appears by his will.

<sup>7</sup> *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1882, p. 419.

<sup>8</sup> *Pettigrew Inquiry*, p. 21; and see Orig., 15th Elizabeth, 2nd part, mem. 164, for a general livery of his land to his son Giles.

<sup>9</sup> *Sed quere*. I find another Antony Forster selling the manor in 36th Elizabeth.—Pat. 36th Elizabeth, 18th part.

<sup>1</sup> Froude, vii. p. 427 (1566), where Cecil talks of Dudley being "infamed by the death of his wife."

As to *Appleyard*, Amy's half-brother, who was at her inquest, and who, in after years, said he covered her death for Leicester's sake. He is also noticed by Cecil as being a special object of Leicester's bounty. This is borne out by his examination (see Appendix III), which admits that he had a commission under the Great Seal to seize concealed prizes, and the Portership of Berwick,<sup>1</sup> and that the Earl had become bound for him for a debt of £400, and procured him to be made Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, "to gain him credit and countenance." In 1564 he was acting as Keeper of the Marshalsea.<sup>2</sup> I find that he also had a beneficial lease from the Queen, in 1565, of the rectories of Brustwicke and Skekeling in Yorkshire (which was renewed to him in 1582),<sup>3</sup> and another beneficial lease of the Manor Place at Frothingham, York.<sup>4</sup>

*Mrs. Odingsells.* I find no direct grant to her; but *Henry Odingsells*, in 1561 (the year after the murder), had a beneficial lease, from the Queen, of the rectory of Lullington in Derbyshire.<sup>5</sup> Henry Odingsells and another had a beneficial lease from the Queen, in 1570, of lands in Bryndeham;<sup>6</sup> and Thomas Odingsells, in 1586, had a grant of the custody and marriage of Elizabeth and Margaret Faux; and in 1596<sup>7</sup> a beneficial lease of the rectories of Landeley and Langwell in Pembrokeshire.<sup>8</sup>

*Thomas Blount*, on 1st February, 1560, had, with his wife,

<sup>1</sup> See Privy Council Books, 1564, p. 298.

<sup>2</sup> Dom. S. P., Elizabeth, xxxiv. No. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Orig., 8th Elizabeth, 1st part, roll 29; and 25th Elizabeth, 4th part, roll 90.

<sup>4</sup> Orig., 8th Elizabeth, 3rd part, roll 101; and renewed Orig., 19th Eliz., fourth part, roll 42; Orig., 25th Elizabeth, sixth part, roll 11.

<sup>5</sup> Pat. Roll, 3rd Elizabeth, 8th part; orig., ib., 3rd part.

<sup>6</sup> Orig., 12th Elizabeth, 1st part.

<sup>7</sup> Pat. Roll, 28th Elizabeth, 7th part.

<sup>8</sup> Pat. Roll, 38th Elizabeth, 4th part.

a grant of the manor of Ketheminster in Worcestershire;<sup>9</sup> on 30th December, 1560, had a grant of the custody of Thomas Lawley;<sup>1</sup> on 19th February, 1566, of the custody of Patience Acton; and on the same date, of Robert Acton.<sup>2</sup> He was also a Collector of Customs and Subsidies;<sup>3</sup> and in 1558-9 had the grant of an office relating to the sale of broad cloths.<sup>4</sup>

It is hard to identify this Thomas Blount,<sup>5</sup> or to show how he was "cousin" to Dudley. He was, probably, the Thomas Blount, one of the servants of Sir John Dudley, to whom the latter granted a lease of lands formerly belonging to Halesowen Abbey, for a thousand years, at a pepper corn.<sup>6</sup> A Thomas Blount was subject to a fine for not being knighted in Mary's reign, but was exonerated from it.<sup>7</sup>

It is very singular that we find him employed to enquire about Amy's death in 1560; and that in 1567, when the question of her death was being re-opened, Throgmorton writes to Leicester:—"Mr. Thomas Blownte is not yet come to this towne, so such things cannot be done by him as your will was he should have done." It would be interesting to know *what* he was wished to do, and whether it was anything with regard to Appleyard, who was then suspected of blabbing. There is no record of his death, but he was dead by 20th Elizabeth. (*See* Chancery Suit, Robsart v. Lytelton, in which he is referred to as deceased.)

Much later we find Morgan writing to Mary of Scots from Paris on 20th July, 1585, of "one Blunt—his father

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<sup>9</sup> Pat., 2nd Elizabeth, 10th part; Orig., 2nd Elizabeth, 4th part, m. 60.

<sup>1</sup> Pat., 3rd Elizabeth, 4th part.

<sup>2</sup> Pat., 8th Eliz., 6th and 9th parts.

<sup>3</sup> Pell. and Issue Rolls, Easter, 10th; Michaelmas, 10th and 11th; Michaelmas, 11th and 12th Elizabeth.

<sup>4</sup> Pat., 11th Eliz., 2nd part.

<sup>5</sup> He was trustee for Dudley in several grants from the Crown.

<sup>6</sup> *Herald and Geneal.*, vi. p. 362.

<sup>7</sup> Mem. Roll, 1st and 2nd Philip and Mary, rot. 81.

was kin to Leicester. This Blunt and his elder brother and their mother being all Catholics, are all forced to fawn upon Leicester to see if thereby they may live quiet, and by Leicester's means they have been more quietly handled than some others. I have warned and prayed him earnestly to deal with your son (James I.) to beware of Leicester." <sup>8</sup>

I find several Blounts who may have had something to do with the man.

Elizabeth, daughter of Walter Blount of Osbaston—of a younger branch of Lord Mountjoy's family—married Sir Thomas Pope, under whose care Elizabeth was at Hatfield in 1555, when accused of complicity in Wyatt's rebellion. <sup>9</sup>

Another Elizabeth Blount, the only mistress of Hen. VIII., married Lord Talbois, and had a daughter Elizabeth, who married secondly Lord Ambrose Dudley, brother of Leicester himself.

Last of all we come to another relation of Amy's—her illegitimate half-brother, *Arthur Robsart*. He is said to have attended the inquest, and I can only trace him once afterwards, when he filed a chancery bill on 26th November, 20th Elizabeth, against Sir John Lytelton and George Tuckey, to protect his title to lands in Oldbury, Langley, and Walloxall in Shropshire.

It seems by his claim that the Earl of Leicester and the heirs of Dame Amy his wife conveyed the property to Robsart, but no date is given. We get the date, however, approximately from the Close Roll of 8th Elizabeth (1566), on which is enrolled a deed dated 2nd March, 1566, from John Walpole (who was Amy's heir) to Robsart, whereby Walpole sells his reversion for £350, and in which it is mentioned that Dudley was seized for life. It must have therefore been after 1566 that Dudley gave over what looks uncommonly like hush-money to Robsart.

<sup>8</sup> Murd. 448-49.

<sup>9</sup> Clutterbuck's *Herts*, i. p. 208.

## APPENDIX I.

*Appleyard's Examination before the Privy Council.<sup>1</sup>*

John Appleyard being examined before the Lord Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Steward of the Queen's Majestie's Household, the Earl of Arundel, the Lord Clinton, Lord Admiral, and Sir William Cecil, Knight, Her Majesty's principal Secretary, upon certain private articles concerning his communication and devices used touching the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Leicester, amongst many other things answered, said in effect as followeth:—First, when he lay at Hampton Court with Mr. Huggins,<sup>2</sup> about one year past, one came over the water to require him to speak with a certain person on the other side the water, who amongst other speeches said to him that seeing the Earl of Leicester did him no more good, although he had deserved much at his hand, if he would be content to stir some matter against him for the death of his wife, he should find good maintenance therein and should not (want) a thousand pounds to relieve him. Whereat he answered that the Earl of Leicester was one whom he most honoured and loved of any subject in the realm, and that he would always stand with him against any person, saving the Queen, whereupon the party said he then would deal no further with him, and so went away.

Being examined why he did not stay him to the intent to compel him to utter more of the matter, he saith he went over but in his nightgown and had no weapon about him, and that the other party had a servant standing not far off.

He said the party was like a merchant man, and that he nowise knoweth nor can guess what he was nor where he dwelleth.

He saith he told this tale at (as?) an aventure to Mr. Thomas Blount, without meaning that he should make any report thereof, or that he thought it worthy to be reported to any person.

He denieth that ever he made any report or mention of the Duke of Norfolk or Earl of Suffolk to be named by the said party, for that the said party never named them two or any other person to him otherwise than as before spoke.

Item, among other things of his speeches concerning the Earl of

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<sup>1</sup> Hatfield MSS., now first printed.

<sup>2</sup> Appleyard married the daughter of Robert Huan of Bradenham, Norfolk.



Leicester, he said that he had received many fair promises of good turns, but he never had the fruits thereof, although he had in time of the Earl's troubles (which he specified to be in Queen Mary's time) ventured himself and all that he had to help the said Earl and his wife.

And being charged in general words that he had reward, great places, friendship and countenance by the Earl, he answered that true it was that the Earl of late time used him to send him into Ireland and to give him £100 in his purse and 100 mks. a year out of his own living, with recommendation to his Brother Sir Hy. Sidney to give him some entertainment there. But within a while afterward he saith the Earl moved him newly to go into France and to (stay?) there. Whereat he answered that he would go to any place where he should appoint him so his Lord would first set him clear out of debt, which the said Earl said he was not able to do, considering his own debts and other his burdeus. So as he considered that he had nothing of the said Earl but fair promises. And yet being remembered of these places following he could not deny them:—

First, of the commission procured him under the Great Seal to (seize) in any place upon the sea concealed prizes upon his own authority without proceeding in any court to prove his title, wherein the favour shewed unto him as no man ever had of the like in this time.

Secondly, the Earl had (become) bound for him to discharge a debt of £400.

Thirdly, he obtained him the office of Portership of Berwick, and he also procured him to be made Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, to gain him credit and countenance.

Item, in his speech furthermore he said that he had oftentimes moved the Earl to give him leave and to countenance him in the prosecuting of the Trial of the Murder of his Sister, adding that he did take the Earl to be innocent thereof, and yet he thought it an easy matter to find out the offenders, affirming therewith and showing certain circumstances which moved him to think surely that she was murdered, whereunto he sayeth that the Earl always assured him that he thought it not fit to deal any further in the matter, considering that by order of Coroner it was already found otherwise, and that it was so presented by a Jury. Nevertheless the said Appleyard in his speech said upon this question that the Jury had not as yet given up their verdict.

Item, in sundry his speeches he said that he did esteem the dis-

pleasure of the Earl of Leicester towards him to come by the labouring of certain persons about him, naming sometime Mr. Horsey and sometime Mr. Christmas, and the said Earl of his own disposition was his good lord.

Item, he saith that he never made mention of any money to be given to the Earl of Pembroke or Mr. Seinber (?) for the calling in of the Commission granted to Elliott and others, but that he saith that Christmas asked him thereof, and would have had him to have confessed the same.

On back of p. 68, in Burleigh's hand :—

Tryndell, examined before the said persons and at the said time, upon sundry matters, saith that at one time he heard John Appleyard and William Huggyns of Hampton Court reasoning together concerning the producing forth of a person that declared such matter as partly is touched above to be spoken to Appleyard, and Appleyard said to Huggyns that he was sworn not to name the party, but he would point him out with his finger in his shop, and this communication was upon a letter that Appleyard wrote to the Earl of Leicester.

Item, Tryndell saith that bringing answer from the Earl of Leicester to Appleyard that he could not help him in his requests as he desired, Appleyard used words of anger, and said amongst other things that he had for the Earl's sake covered the murder of his Sister.

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## APPENDIX II.

DOMESTIC STATE PAPERS,<sup>3</sup> ELIZABETH, Vol. xlii., No. 59.

Throgmorton to the Earl of Leicester, 9th May, 1567.

Mr. Coleill arrived here from your Lordship the 8th of this month, in the morning. He delivered your token. I presented your writing what time no person was present (by the Queen's order) but my Lady Knollys.<sup>4</sup> Her Majesty read your letter over thrice together, and

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<sup>3</sup> Now first printed.

<sup>4</sup> Lettice Knollys, the Queen's cousin, who married, first, the Earl of Essex; second, Leicester; and third, Sir Xr. Blount.

said you did mistake the Chameleon's properties, who doth change into all colours according to the object, (saffe ?) save white, which is innocency. At your cypher, the Black Jack, she showed sundry affections: some merry, some sorrowful, some betwixt both. She did much commend the manner of your writing; then she willed me to show her what your Lordship had written to me. She read my letter twice, and put it in her pocket. Then I demanded of her whether she would write to your Lordship. She plucked forth my letter and said, "I am glad at [the] length he hath confessed a fault in himself, for he asketh pardon." I said, "Madam, do you mean in your letter or mine?" "In yours," she answered. I said "that which you mean is but a conditional supposed proposition." Then she read again my letter, and said, "Sure, [it] is enough to satisfy me." "Yea," said I, "and to accuse your Majesty also." "Whereof?" said she, "Of extreme rigour," said I. Then she smiled and put up my letter. I asked again whether her Majesty would write to your Lordship. She said "I will bethink myself all this day." I do judge by Syr H. Ley she meaneth to send your Lordship a token in some message to Mr. Carie, since she hath said you have confessed at length a fault in yourself. She has taken great pleasure to read Mr. Dyer's letter sent to Mr. Cary, and namely, in the phrase where he useth the metaphor of the flax and the distaff. Things have framed so here as your lordship may say with David, "*Salutem ex inimicis nostris.*" This bearer shall tell you the circumstances and authors to make you laugh.

Yesterday Applierd and Trendall being taken discreetly by the Knight Marshall, they were before the Earl of Pembroke, Arundell, the Marquis of Herts, the Lord Admiral, and Mr. Secretary. My Lord of Pembroke desired my Lord Paget and me to frame some charge against them, for they know not how to proceed with them. We, with the advice of Mr. Lomworthe and Mr. Carie, devised four general interrogatories (cessyprogne ?) betwixt your Lordship, the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Sussex, to the end, upon their answers, other particular interrogatories might be ministered unto them. Thus it fell out. Apliard with fair words of love and duty to your Lordship, uttered much malice against you; but denied all matters either touching the Duke, the Earl of Sussex, or yourself, as at any time uttered by him to your Lordship, or to any other.

Mr. Trendall confessed such matter, as it appeared to the Lords that Apliard did greatly dissemble, and did much malice your Lordship.

In the end, Applierd is committed to the Marshall's custody; for

neither might they commit him to the Tower, neither would they commit him to the Fleet—and Trendall is committed to the Gaol-house at Westminster. All the Lords did most willingly employ themselves to punish the lewd doings of this malicious fellow; and I have moved that both Applierd's and Trendall's confession might be put into writing, lest the same may be forgotten.

Now the Lords do not know what is further to be done until your Lordship's coming or advice be signified unto them.

No. 60. Another letter of same date.

"Mr. Thomas Blownte is not yet come to this towne, so as such things cannot be done by him as your will was he should have done."

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### APPENDIX III.

#### Questions put to William Huggins and others, as to John Appleyard.<sup>5</sup>

TO BE ANSWERED BY WILLIAM HUGGINS.

How oftentimes did John Appleyard inform you of any offers made to him to provoke him to prosecute matter against my Lord of Leicester, and what were the offers and by whom were they made, and in whose names, and what should Appleyard do or cause to be done?

Where were you when Appleyard went over the Thames to speak with one that came to move him in such a purpose?

Who came to Appleyard, in message, to move him to go over the Thames?

What time of the day was it? What day of the week? Who dined with you that day?

In what apparel was the messenger? Of what age and stature was he?

What said Appleyard to you upon the message done to him?

What advice did you give Appleyard? What did you in the meantime?

Where were you when Appleyard returned, and what said he to you?

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<sup>5</sup> Hatfield MSS., 145, now first printed.

How many persons did you see on the other side of the Thames with Appleyard? In what apparel? How many horses had they? How far stood they from Appleyard? Which way, east or west, or north or south?

Did Appleyard stand or walk while he conversed with them?

*Similar enquiries to some one else.*

155. 5. Whether did you ever say to any person that the party said that he came from the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Sussex, or from any others? 6. Whether did you swear upon a Book for anything to the party?

155. What talk have you had with the Duke of Norfolk, with the Earl of Sussex, touching or concerning the Earl of Leicester, directly or indirectly, within the space of this three years past, &c., &c.? What occasion moveth you to haunt the family and often the company of Mr. Tryndall, &c.?

[On back of 154<sup>s</sup> are short notes in Burleigh's writing, amplified hereafter in his.]

..... Richard, I pray you go to Mr. Weatherall and tell him what Evaunce is doing about mine office, and say if he will enter bond for vj*l*i. Evaunce will assure over the patent to me, and I will consign the same over to him for his assurance, &c.

Your master,

JOHN APLEYARD.

## APPENDIX IV.

### *Appleyard's Confession.\**

Most honourable, when I consider the greatness of my faults most heinously committed, I both blush and fear to write. I blush as ashamed of my faults and fear as one condemning myself unworthy of grace at your hands, but the noble clemency I yesterday received doth somewhat abandon from me despair, although shame doth still remain, for it can not be covered, my fault being truly confessed by my own mouth in so honourable a presence. So it were before

\* Hatfield MSS. now first printed.

I stood in hope (by your honorable means) to her Majesty to have happened of somewhat on my relief. I now wish rather a mountain to overwhelm me and hide me from your sights, than once to dare show my spotted face in your honourable presences, for (unworthy of it) I have heretofore had place and continuance of credit and better liked of by all your honors than I could deserve, which now is so justly blemished, as I see in myself in no possibility as hereby I can have comfort in my life ever to recover your good opinions, so that when I find some hope by forgiveness the fear of shame and loss of credits and which such personages doth altogether dreuth me in despair. My faults, my Lords, which I have committed are against two noble gentlemen, such as if they had enemies, yet their enemies could no ways in honour detect them. And I a caitiff (in many respects bound to them both), have attempted against duty, love, and truth, yea, even against nature, to provoke justly their . . . . the burden whereof is so intolerable (the greatness of their estate considered), as not only in this world they terrify me, but also the account that must further towards God be made, doth even in conscience fear me, by which my senses be wholly benumbed, whereby my wisdom is in me utterly quailed, so further I consider of myself that my deserts in both worlds give me summons of a reprobate. I stand so plunged in sorrows, as yet I see small hope that can comfort me, for as mine acquaintances hath in most parts of this realm bred great knowledge of me, so (being where I am) methinks I see in myself what inquiry and what whisperings are in judging of my offences, &c., &c.

And for the matter of my sister, wherein like most noble Counsellors you have in all justice proffered me your honourable aid for execution of all such persons as I shall give in name to your honours (laying reasonable likely cause why I present them.) I find, under correction of your noble favours, my next way is to desire a copy of the verdict presented by the coroner, whereby I may see what the jury have found, and that considered (having your Lordships' favours) to take some learned advice in what sort I may best proceed or rather hope to begin the trial of the cause, for working without some learned council I may wrap myself in such errors, as whereof such dangers of law may towards myself ensue as I in rashness see not, and possibly the sight of the verdict shall fully satisfy me, so as I most humbly beseech your good Lordships (if my suit be not unlawful), I may first see that verdict and then stand at liberty (by advice of council, learned) to

proceed or not. If, my Lords, in any part of this letter I offend, I most humbly beseech your favourable pardons, for it is not either of will or arrogancy, but only of simplicity, for as in the former part of my letter I have confessed my infirmity of wit, so I know the whole will show the same.

My good Lords, I beseech you, even in the name of Christ, to be mediators for me to those noble gentlemen against whom I have so heinously trespassed, for these offences by them pardoned, I shall ever apply myself to do and say that appertaineth to nobility, and never hereafter to enter in any case that may offend, and if it may please their honours to give me leave to write to either of them one private letter, I shall be most bounden to their honours. As my health, my good Lords, is very evil, so are my charges great, for I have nothing to feed on but what I send ready money for into the Town, and surely, my Lords, I have very little, and I may not speak with any friends to help me, so that I must very shortly take what of alms the house will give me, the consideration whereof I leave to your noble and . . . wisdoms, and so with remembrance of my most bounden duty, I do pray to Almighty God for the happy preservation of your honourable estate long to endure.

From the Fleet, this present Saturday, the last of May, 1567.

Your honours' most humble prisoner,

John Appleyarde.

### Appleyard's Submission &c.

With remembrance of my most bounden duty my most singular good Lords, I received from your honours, by Mr. Warden of the Fleet, the copy of the verdict which in my other letter I humbly sued for, by whom I yesterday returned the same to your Lordships again, in which verdict I do find not only such proofs testified under the oaths of 15 persons how my late sister by misfortune happened of death, but also such manifest and plain demonstration thereof as hath fully and clearly satisfied and persuaded me and my Lords (commending her Soul to God.) I have not further say of that cause, for I have of your favours required nothing that might bring trial of her unhappy case to light, but I have in all justice received the same, yea, even with the offer of your noble assistance.

[He then proceeds to beg for mercy.]

From the Fleet, this Wednesday the 4 June, anno 1567.

## APPENDIX V.

**Documents relating to alleged intimacy with the Admiral.<sup>7</sup>****EXAMINATION OF THE MARQUIS OF NORTHAMPTON.**

Further at one other time he [the Admiral] told me that he had heard of a wonderful thing, saying that he was credibly informed that my Lord Protector had said he would clap him in the Tower if he went to my Lady Elizabeth.

**ELIZABETH TO THE PROTECTOR, 28TH JANUARY, 1548,<sup>8</sup> REFERRING TO THE RUMOURS OF HER MARRIAGE WITH THE ADMIRAL.**

And also I told Master Tirwit that to the effect of the matter, I never consented unto any such thing without the Council's consent thereunto . . .

Master Tirwit and others have told me that their goeth rumours abroad which be greatly both against my honour and honesty (which above all other things I esteem), which be these: that I am in the Tower, *and with child by my Lord Admiral.*<sup>9</sup> My Lord, these be shameful slanders, &c.

**CONFESSION OF HARRYNGTON, 2ND FEBRUARY 1548.<sup>1</sup>**

I have remembered certain words which Mistress Asley said unto me [while] the Queen [was] living at Chelsea.

She called me aside, and said she would fain that my Lord understood a matter; but she would not have it known to come of [from] her. I asked what it was. She answered [that] my Lord and the Queen came divers times into my Lady Elizabeth's chamber, which was well taken of every body; but my Lord came some time without the Queen, which of some was misliked, but of whom she would not tell me.

<sup>7</sup> Burghley State Papers, p. 79.

<sup>8</sup> Id. p. 89.

<sup>9</sup> Is it likely that unless the freedom of her conduct had been very remarkable, such a rumour would have been abroad about a girl of under fifteen?

Certainly, for a "Virgin Queen," she had her reputation blown on as early and often as any one in England.

<sup>1</sup> Burghley State Papers, p. 93.



## CONFESSION OF THOS. PARRY, 1548.

I do remember also she [Mrs. Ashley] told me that the Admiral loved her but too well, and had so done a good while, and that the Queen was jealous on her and him, insomuch that one time the Queen, suspecting the often access of the Admiral to the Lady Elizabeth's Grace, came suddenly upon them where they were all alone—he having her in his arms—wherefore the Queen fell out both with the Lord Admiral and with her Grace also.

## CONFESSION OF KATHARINE ASHLEY, 1548.

She saith at Chelsea, incontinent after he was married to the Queen, he would come many mornings into the said Lady Elizabeth's chamber, before she were ready and sometime before she did rise. And if she were up he would bid her good morrow, and asked her how she did, and strike her upon the back or on the buttocks familiarly, and so go forth through his lodgings, and sometimes go through to the maidens and play with them, and so forth. And if she were in her bed, he would put open the curtains and bid her good morrow, and make as though he would come at her; and she would go further in the bed, so that he could not come at her. And one morning he strove to have kissed her in her bed. And this examine was there and bade him go away for shame. She knoweth not whether this were at Chelsea or Hanworth.

At Hanworth, he would likewise come in the morning unto her Grace, but as she remembers, at all times, she was up before, saving two mornings, the which two mornings the Queen came with him—and this examine lay with her Grace—and there they tickled my Lady Elizabeth in the bed, the Queen and my Lord Admiral.

Another time, at Hanworth, in the garden, he rated with her and cut her gown in a hundred pieces, being black cloth; and when she came up this examine chided her, and her Grace answered "she could not do with all, for the Queen held her, while the Lord Admiral cut it."

Another time, at Chelsea, the Lady Elizabeth hearing the Privy lock undo, knowing that he would come in, ran out of her bed to her maidens, and then went behind the curtain of the bed, the maidens being there; and my Lord tarried to have her come out, she cannot tell how long. This examine heard of the gentlewomen; she thinks Mr. Power told it her. And then, in the gallery, this examine told my Lord that these things were complained of, and that my Lord

was evil spoken of. The Lord Admiral swore, "God's precious soul! he would tell my Lord Protector how it slandered him, and he would not leave it, for he meant no evil."

At Seymour Place, when the Queen lay there, he used for a while to come up every morning in his night gown, bare-legged, in his slippers, where he found commonly the Lady Elizabeth up at her book. And then he would look in at the gallery door, and bid my Lady Elizabeth good morrow, and so go his way. Then this examine told my Lord it was an unseemly sight to come so bare-legged to a maiden's chamber, with which he was angry, but he left it.

At Hanworth, the Queen told this examine that my Lord Admiral looked in at the gallery window, and saw my Lady Elizabeth cast her arms about a man's neck. The which hearing, this examine enquired about it of my Lady's Grace, who denied it weeping, and bade her ask all her women. They all denied it; and she knew it could not be so, for there came no man but Gryndall, the Lady Elizabeth's schoolmaster. Howbeit, thereby this examine did suspect that the Queen was jealous betwixt them, and did but feign this, to the intent that this examine should take more heed, and be, as it were, in watch betwixt her and my Lord Admiral. She saith, also, that Mr. Ashley, her husband, hath divers times given this examine warning to take heed, for he did fear that the Lady Elizabeth did bear some affection to my Lord Admiral. She seemed to be well pleased therewith, and sometimes she would blush when he were spoken of: and one other told her so also, but she cannot tell who it was.

(Signed) KATERYN ASCHLY.

## APPENDIX VI.

### *The Insanity of Margaret Boleyn.<sup>1</sup>*

Inquisicio indentat̃ cap̃t̃ apud Castrum Canteb̃r in cõm p̃dcō vicesimo die Septembr Anno regni dñi Regis nunc Henr. Octavi dei gr̃a Anglie & Franc' Regis fidei defens' dñi Hib̃n & in terr' Supremi Capits Anglicane eccl'ie tricesimo primo coram Thoma Castell Ar' Escautore dc̃i dñi Regis Cõm p̃dcōi virtute Officij sui p'

<sup>1</sup> Escheators, Inquisitions, Camb. and Hunts., 30th and 31st Hen. VIII, now first printed.

sacrm Thome Smyth Joh'is Smyth Thome Baron Gilb'ti Smyth Ric'i Selby Henr' Algood Thome Fyng Joh'es Bridgeman Joh'is Collyge Robt' Bous Thome Lavender Joh'es Amys Willm Blount Joh'is Blount Joh'is Curteys & Thome Cause Qui dic' sup sacf suū qd dñā Margaret Bolleyn vidua nup ux' Willm Bulleyn militis defunct' ac una filiaz & cohered' nup Comitis Ormundie fuit seisit in dnico suo ut de feod de & in manijs de Fulbone Zowches Colvylis Manv's Sharlowe & Swavesey cū suis ptiā in doō Coñ Cantebf necnon de libā capella de Sharlow in eodm Coñ Et ultius ijdm Jur dicunt sup sacf suū qd p̄dca Margaret de manijs p̄dcis cū suis p̄tin' in forma p̄dcā seisit' existens circa vicesimū diem Aprl Anno regni dcī dñi Regis nunc decimo ex diūis infirmitatibz & egretudinibz ei contingen lunatica frenatica insana & non compos mentis devenit et ad huc lunatica frenatica insana & non compos mentis existit. Ac eisdem infirmitatibz & egretudinibz a p̄dcō vicesimo die April Anno decimo sup̄dcō usque diem capōis hujus Inquis' lucida gaudet intervalla 't lucida est intervalla ac demens & non compos mentis nec sane memorie.<sup>2</sup> Ita qd seipamant mañia terf sive tēf sua p̄dcā aut exiū & p̄fitua eoꝝdm aut bona seu Catal' sua regere & gubarnare minime valeat aut sufficit. Et ultius Jur p̄dci dic' sup sacf suū est qd p̄dcēm mañiū de Fulburne oū p̄tin valet p annū in oñibz exiū ultra repris' lxxix<sup>u</sup> xvij<sup>u</sup> ij<sup>u</sup> ob. di q̄. Et qd dcā mañia de Zowches Colvyles & Manv's valent p annū in oñibz exiū ultra repris' xx<sup>u</sup> vj<sup>u</sup> viij<sup>u</sup> ac qd dcēm mañiū de Sharlow valet p annū in oñibz exit ultra repris' vij<sup>u</sup> ac dcēm mañiū de Swavesey oū ptiā valet p Annū in oñibz exiū ultra repris' lxi<sup>u</sup> vij<sup>u</sup> iij<sup>u</sup> ob. Et qd dcā libā capella valet p annū in oñibz exiū ultra repris' xxvj<sup>u</sup> viij<sup>u</sup>. In cujus rei testimonium tñ p̄fat Escaetor qm Jur p̄dci huic Inquisicoñ indentaī Sigilla sua apposuef daī die Anno & loco sup<sup>a</sup> dicti.

## APPENDIX VII.

### *The Fife Speeches of Mr. Darrel.<sup>3</sup>*

Roger Fawne's talke had with me uppon Christmas Day and St. Stephin's Day, being the xxvth and xxvjth of December, 1578.

Uppon Christmas Daye at night he and his brother in lawe and I came from evensong together, and by the waye as we went I used some talke of MR. DARRELL, marveling much what he ment having so

<sup>2</sup> This sentence seems corrupt, but is printed as written.

<sup>3</sup> Lansdowne MS. No. 29, 5, now first printed.

fayre a living that he lived no quieter in his cowntrie, to which he answered that in trewth he was a marvaylous trowblesome man, and that he did not care what he did to be revenged of such as he had malice unto.

[It then proceeds about his evil speeches, and suggests that proceedings should be taken against Darrel for scandal against the Queen and nobility. It goes discursively into matters about females in the neighbourhood, and worse, but the details follow in a list. These are those which affect the Queen.]

Itm. he hard his master saye unto him in his studye, as at that tyme he was very familer with him, that the tyme was now almost come that long had byn loked for, that was that now they were readie to go together by the eares at the corte, which if it so came to passe (as he hoaped it wold) he sayd he wold be the first man himself that with his owne hande wold dispatche my L. Treasurer, and diverse oother vile wordes he hard his master at [that] tyme speak of the Qweene and of the Cownsell, as that her Grace was very unmete to gouverne, *and that she was a dronckard and a naughtie woman of her bodie, with such odious wordes as his eares did ake to here*, and the said Fawne mutch marvayled what he ment to speak this mutch unto him; This was spoken about that tyme he laye at Mr. Comptroller's, which he reconeth to be 4 or 5 yeres past or thereabouts.

Itm. he sayde that John Pynnock sayde to him that when the Qweenes matie was at Wilton last his master rode thither, hoaping to have byn knighted as oothers were, and as he rode homewardest his master sayde unto him that the Qweene was once mynded to ryde a hunting, but after dynner she was so dronck that she could not ryde, and so mutch more talke he had at that tyme with the sayd Pynnock as touching her matie and cownsell.

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## APPENDIX VIII.

### *The Saying of Arthur Gunter.*<sup>4</sup>

The saying of Arthur Gunter<sup>5</sup> to George Cotton (and others) that er this my Lord Robert's wife is dead and she broke her necke, but it is

<sup>4</sup> Hatfield MSS. 153, fo. 54, now first printed.

<sup>5</sup> This is what Gunter was reported to have said.—W. R.

in a number of heads that the queen will marry him. If she do you shall see a great stour, for my lord is sure of the Earl of Pembroke and the Lord Rich, with divers others to be ready with the putting up of his finger, and then you shall see the White Horse bestir him, for my [lord] is of great power, but a man shall have [a] ruffian with a dag to dispatch him out of a shop.

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## APPENDIX IX.<sup>6</sup>

### *The Declaration of Arthur Gunter concerning Lord Robert Dudley.<sup>7</sup>*

Pleaseth your Honours to understand that about three weeks since I chanced to be a hunting with divers Gentlemen, when I fell in talk with a Gentleman named Mr. George Cotton, who told me that it chanced the Queen's Highness to be at Supper on a time at my Lord Robert's house, where it chanced her Highness to be nighted homeward and as her Grace was going homeward by torch light, her Highness fell in talk with them that carried the torches, and said that her Grace would make their Lord the best that ever was of his name. Whereupon I said that her Grace must make him then a Duke, and he said that the Report was that her Highness should marry him, and I answered I pray God all be for the best and I pray God all men may take it well, that there might rise no trouble thereof, and so have I said to divers others since that time. And I most humbly beseech your Honours all to be good unto me and to pardon me herein if I have offended.

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## APPENDIX X.

### *Confession of Arthur Gunter concerning Lord Robert Dudley.<sup>8</sup>*

Pleaseth your Honours farther to understand that the said Mr. George Cottone said that it was rumoured heretofore that my Lord my master should have married the Queen's Highness. And I said that if it pleased her Highness I thought him as meet a man as any

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<sup>6</sup> Hatfield MSS., 155, fo. 55, now first printed.

<sup>7</sup> This is his version of the affair.      <sup>8</sup> Hatfield MSS., now first printed.

in England. And farther he asked me if I heard of any Parliament toward; and I said no, but if there were any I think every Nobleman will give his opinion, and then they that be my Lord's friends will say that he is a meet man, and the other that be none my Lord Robert's friends will say that he is not a meet man, and so it may fortune there will rise trouble among the Noblemen, which God forbid. And then he asked me who was "my Lord's friends." And I said my Lord Marquis of Northampton, my Lord of Pembroke, Mr. Treasurer, Mr. Sacfield, with many others. Farther I said, "I trust the White Horse will be quiet, and so shall we be out of trouble, it is well known *his* blood, as yet, was never attaind, nor was *he* ever man of war, wherefore is it likely that we shall sit still, but if he should stomach it he were able to make a great power." All those things before rehearsed I have spoken unto divers others, as unto Mr. Robert Palmer, Mr. Stowton, Mr. Benyon, and others. Farther, as touching my Lord Robert, I have said to Mr. Cottone that I thought him to be the cause that my Lord and my master might not marry the Queen's Highness, wherefor I would that he had been put to death with his Father or that some Ruffian would have despatched him by the way as he hath gone with some dagger or gun. Farther, I said that if it chanced my Lord Robert to marry the Queen's Highness then I doubted whether he would remember any old matter passed heretofore and so be turned unto my Lord my master's displeasure and hindrance.

By me, Arthur Gounter.

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## APPENDIX XI.

### *The Submission of Gounter.<sup>9</sup>*

In most humble and reverend manner I do from the bottom of my heart confess that the lewd and unfitting words uttered by me, for the which I have been most worthily punished, are such as I am very heartily sorry for, and shall with God's grace henceforth beware that the like shall never enter into my heart and much less pass my mouth, most humbly beseeching your Honour to be means for me to the Queen's Majesty for her Highness' pardon and remission of this my fault. And as I shall not fail to be a continual intercessor to

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<sup>9</sup> Hatfield MSS., now first printed.

Almighty God for the prosperous preservation of Her Majesty, so will I study by all the means I can to redub and recompense my former offence.

Your most humble and Obedient Orator,  
Arthur Gounter.

To the Right Honourable Sir William  
Cecil, Knight, the Queen's Majesty's  
principal Secretary.

## APPENDIX XII.

### *Leicester's Commonwealth.*<sup>1</sup>

The ability<sup>2</sup> of this book is shown by its popularity. It would be hard to say how many MSS. there still are of it.<sup>3</sup> Its literary merit is very conspicuous, and the knowledge the anonymous writer had of the secret history of his times is very remarkable. It is generally ascribed to Father Parsons the Jesuit,<sup>4</sup> but it has been suggested, and I think more probably, that it was written or prompted by no less a man than Cecil, Lord Burleigh, himself. That Cecil was no friend at heart of Dudley's is clear enough,<sup>5</sup> how indeed could he have been of such a man.

<sup>1</sup> See *Gentleman's Magazine*, December, 1845.

<sup>2</sup> Sidney's attempted reply seems to me laboured, affected, and weak. From Froude, vi. pp. 452-3, it would seem he was ready to act as ambassador for his brother-in-law.

<sup>3</sup> I know of the eight following in the Harl. MSS. only, viz.—405, 557, 2245, 2290, 4020, 4282, 6021 fo. 186, 7582.

There is a MS. of which there are two copies among the Cambridge University MSS. [D. d. ix. 14 and G. g. iii. 34], and another copy among the Aahmolean MSS. [829 pp. 1—296], which may have been the *nucleus* of *Leicester's Commonwealth*. The first of the Cambridge MSS. is entitled "A comunicacon or discours of the Queen's higness between fower gent: at Monthall in Essex, reported by Sir Tho. Smyth, knight, to his neybore Francis Wyat, gent: 1561, Primo Aprilis," and begins fo. 1, "As I was walking in my garden alone, Francis Wyat came unto me." Smyth was principal secretary to Elizabeth.

<sup>4</sup> Life of, Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* ii. col. 361; Life of, by James, p. 55.

<sup>5</sup> Cecil seems to have put forward Dudley to marry Mary of Scots; also to have stirred up the Earl of Sussex to quarrel with Leicester. See *Melville's Memoirs*, p. 72.

We know that in April, 1566, he analyzed Dudley's pretensions to be the Queen's husband, in words as bitter as any in the *Commonwealth*. We are told that "Camden's account of the Earl of Leicester discovers a malignity of disposition; it would be difficult to understand if he did not inform us his history was chiefly drawn up from memorials and records communicated by Burleigh," and it is very suggestive that the examinations of Appleyard, when the latter threatened to let out about the hushing up of Amy's murder, are not among the State Papers, but among Cecil's own papers at Hatfield, nor is it to be forgotten that Cecil told the Spanish Ambassador of the intended poisoning of Amy before it happened. It is noteworthy that *Leicester's Commonwealth*, p. 36, mentions the fact that Throgmorton had written home to the Queen that he had heard it reported at table that the Queen of England had a meaning to marry her Horsekeeper.<sup>6</sup> As a matter of fact, the letter was written to Cecil, and who else could have communicated this information?

### APPENDIX XIII.

#### *The Purchase of Cumner by Anthony Forster.*<sup>7</sup>

Hec est finalis concordia fcā in Cur' dñe Regine apud Westm' a die Pasche in quindecim dies Anno regni Elizabeth dei gra' Angl' Franc' & Hibn' Regine fidei defens' &c' a conq'u t'cio coram Jacobo Dyer, Humfro' Broun, Antonio Broun & Rici' Weston Justic' & alijs dñe Regine fidelibz tunc ibi p'sentibz. Int' Antoniu Forster Armig'u quer' et Will'm Owen genosu & Annam ux'em eius deforc' de Man'o de Cumner cu p'tin ac de quadraginta mesuagijs quatnor toftis, duobz molendinis, sex columbarijs, quadraginta gardinis, quadraginta pomarijs, mille acris t're, ducentis acr' prati, centu acr' pasture, centu acr' bosci, centu acr' iampn' & bruere, centu acr' marisci, & centu solidat' reddit' cu p'tin in Cumner Beselsley Wightam Botley Hynxsey Strowdehill Wightam Abbas & Wightam Phillipps ac de hundŕo de Hormer alias Bagley hundred cum p'tin Necnon de Rcōria de Cumner ac advocacōe vicarie de Cumner p'dict' unde pl'itm' convencōis sum' fuit int' eos in eod'm Cur' Scilt qđ pd'ci Will's & Anna recogn' p'dca man'u ten' reddit'

<sup>6</sup> See letter from Throgmorton to Cecil, of 20th Oct., 1560.

<sup>7</sup> Feet of Fines, Berks, Easter, 3rd Elizabeth, now first printed.



hundred & R'coriam cu' p'tin ac advocacōem p'dcām esse ius ipius Antonij ut ill' que id'm Antonius h'et dono p'dcoꝝ Will'i & Anne Et ill' remiser' & quiet clam' de ipis Will'o & Anna & hered suis p'dc'o Antonio & hered suis Imppm Et p'tea ijd'm Will's & Anna concesser' p se & hered' ipius Will'i qd ipi Warant' p'dc'o Antonio & hered' suis p'dc'a man'u' ten' reddit' hundred' & R'coriam cu' p'tin Ac Advocacōem p'dcām cont' p'dcos Will'm & Annam & hered' ipius Will'i Imppm Et p hac recogn' remissione quiet' clam' Warant' fine & concordia id'm Antonius concessit pd'cis Will'o & Anne quandam Annuitatem sive Annual reddit' quinquaginta triu' libraꝝ decem & octo solidos & septem denarios exeunt' de & in p'dcis man'o & ten' cu' p'tin Ac ill' eis reddidit in ead'm Cur' hend' & p'ciend' p'dcam Annuitat' sive Annual reddit' quinquagint' triu' libraꝝ decem & octo solid' & septem denar' eisd'm Will'o & Anne & hered ipius Will'i ad festa Annunciacōis bē Marie Virginis & Sc'i Michis Arch'i ad occident' hostiu' Eccl'ie Cathedris Sc'i Pauli London p equales porcōes Annuatim solvend' Et si contingat p'dcam Annuitat' sive Annual reddit' quinquaginta triu' libraꝝ decem & octo solidos & septem denar' aut aliquam inde p'cell' atretro fore in pte vel in toto post aliquod festu' festoꝝ p'dcoꝝ quo ut p'fert' solvi debeat non solve p spatium sex septimanaz qd tunc & totiens p'd Antonius & hered' sui forisfac' quinq solid' nōie pene & q'd tunc bene licebit p'dcis Will'o & Anne & hered ipius Will'i in p'dca man'u' & ten' cu' p'tin' & in quamlib't inde p'cell' intrare & dstringere & districtoes q sic ibm capt' & hic licete abducere asportare & effugare ac penes se retinere quousq tam de p'dca Annuitate sive Annual' reddit' quinquaginta triu' libraꝝ decem & octo solid' & septem denar' qm p p'd quinq solid' nōie pene ut p fertur forisf'cis cu' arreragiis ejusdem si que fuerunt fuit satisfc'm & psolut'

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#### APPENDIX XIV.

##### *The Death of Verney.<sup>a</sup>*

After, etc. Whereas her Ma' is geven to understande that ther are certen that meant to bee in hande w' your L. for the offyce of the Marshalship of the R<sup>e</sup>. Benche, lately faulen voyde by the

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<sup>a</sup> State Papers, Dom., Elizabeth, vol. 105, No. 75. Leicester to Earl of Shrewsbury, now first printed.

deathe of Mr Varney for y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>t</sup> is supposed to be in your L. gyfte : her plesur is y<sup>t</sup> wee should sygnefye unto you that as heretofore she hathe dysposed thereof (as in the late D. time your p<sup>r</sup>decessor) so she hathe her hyenies bestowed the same at this p<sup>r</sup>esent : and therto hathe willed us earnestly to require your L. to forbear to make any graunt of the same, to avoyde therby the contentyon that otherwyse may follow thereof.

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## APPENDIX XV.

### *The Queen's Gifts and Grants to Leicester.\**

- |         |  |
|---------|--|
| 1 Eliz. | 1. Grant of office of Master of the Horse (11 Jan., 1559).—Pat., 1 Eliz., 4th part.  |
|         | 2. Grant in remainder (after Sir Ambrose Dudley and his heirs male) of manor of Kybworth Beachampe, &c.—Orig., 1 Eliz., 1st part, rot 122.   |
|         | 3. A capital messuage in Kew in the parishes of East Sheen and Mortlake.—Orig., 1 Eliz., 3rd part, rot 96.   |
| 2 Eliz. | 4. The site of the monastery of Watton in the County of York.—Pat., 2 Eliz., 3rd part; Orig., 2 Eliz., 2nd part.   |
|         | 5. A license to export wool.—Id., 4th part.  |
|         | 6. The Lieutenancy of the Castle and Forest of Windsor for life.—Id., 5th part.  |
| 3 Eliz. | 7. The site of the late monastery of Molsay, otherwise Meux, in the County of York.—Pat., 3 Eliz., 11th part.  |
| 4 Eliz. | 8. An annuity of £1000 to be payable out of tonnage and poundage until the Queen shall give him and his heirs lands of equal value.—Orig., 4 Eliz., 2nd part, rot 43; Pat., 4 Eliz., 7th part. |
|         | 9. License to export 19,000 cloths "unrowed."—Pat., 4 Eliz., 2nd part.   |
|         | 10. License to export all manner of woollen cloth "unrowed" to the number of 20,000.—Id.   |
|         | 11. License to export woollen cloth.—Id. (3 July.)   |

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\* Now first collected and printed.

- 4 Eliz. 12. License to buy and export 1000 "serpleis" of wool.—Id., 3rd part.
13. All the real and personal property of Sir Andrew Dudley, attainted in 1553.—Id., 5th part.
14. The office of Constable of the Castle of Windsor.—Id.
- 5 Eliz. 15. The Manor and Lordship and Castle of Kenilworth, the Lordship and Castle of Denbigh, and lands, &c., in the Counties of Lancashire, Surrey, Rutland, Denbigh, Carmarthen, York, Cardigan, Brecknock.—Pat., 5 Eliz., 4th part; Orig., 5 Eliz., 3rd part, rot 132.
- 6 Eliz. 16. The manor of Caldecote in the County of Bedford, and the manor of Pelynge in the parish of Marston in the same County and other lands there, and in the County and City of York.—Pat., 6 Eliz., 7th part.
17. Grant to be Baron of Denbigh.—Id., 12th part; Orig., 6 Eliz., 2nd part.
18. The like to be Earl of Leicester.—Id.
19. Certain parcels of land called Burton Field in the Sherefhutton in York, and other lands in the Counties of York, Beda, Essex, Kent, York.—Orig., 6 Eliz., 1st part, rot 107.
- 7 Eliz. 20. License to "retain" one hundred persons.—Pat., 7 Eliz., 2nd part.
21. The manor, park, and farm of Rudson in the County of Warwick.—Pat., 7 Eliz., 9th part; Orig., 7 Eliz., 2nd part.
22. The reversion of the manor and advowson of Hemmesby, Norfolk.—Id., 10th part; Orig., 7 Eliz., 1st part, rot 61.
23. The office of Chancellor of the County Palatine of Chester.—Pat., 7 Eliz., 9th part.
- 8 Eliz. 24. License for twenty years to export all manner of wood and timber growing in the County of Salop.—Pat., 8 Eliz., 8th part.
25. The reversion of the manor of Balsall in the Counties of Worcester and Warwick, and of the manor of Bridbrooke, al's Hampton on the Hill, and of the manors of Hampton Magna and Parva, of Bretsarton (Worcestershire), of Ewyns Lacye (Hereford),

of Marston al's Dry Merston (Gloucester), of Buckland's manor in Marnehill (the same), of Weston (Somerset), of lands and tenements in Bothenhampton (Dorset), the Grange called Gyletement in Lyme Regis (Dorset), the manor of Holton (Denbigh), the lordship and manor of Bronles (Brecon), the manor of Hoddesdon (Herts), the manor of Iworthe (Bedford), the rectory of Haveringland (Norf.), and messuages in Holbeach (Lincolnshire).—Orig., 8 Eliz., 1st part, rot 56; Pat., 8 Eliz., 7th part.

- 10 Eliz. 26. The manor and advowson of Middlefowey (Somerset).—Pat., 10 Eliz., 4th part.
27. The reversion of the manor of Myddlesbury.—Orig., 10 Eliz., rot 241.
28. Grant of £1303. 2s. 1d. for the surplus value of trees, wood, and underwood on certain manors exchanged by him with the Queen.—Issue Rolls, Easter, 10 Eliz.
- 11 Eliz. Nil.
- 12 Eliz. Nil.
- 13 Eliz. 29. Lease of Bewaley Mill for 21 years at £10. 0s. 8d.—Orig., 13 Eliz., 1st part, rot 56; Pat., id., 4th part.
- 14 Eliz. 30. The custody (wardship) of Charles Butler.
31. A lease of the forest and park of South Frith in Keven [Merioneth] for 50 years.—Pat., 14 Eliz., 6th part; Orig., 14 Eliz., 2nd part, rot. 79.
32. Reversion of the manor of Burton (Leicester).—Pat., 14 Eliz., 9th part; Orig., 14 Eliz., 1st part, rot 144.
33. The custody (wardship) of Thos. Curson.—Pat., 14 Eliz., 9th part.
34. The reversion of the manor of Honeley (Warwick).—Pat., 14 Eliz., 9th part.
35. The reversion of the rectory of Kenilworth and lands in Pembroke, Montgomery, and Middlesex.—Pat., 14 Eliz., 11th part; Orig., 14 Eliz., 3rd part.
36. The office of Chief Steward of the Honour of Grafton (Northampton) for life. Pat., 14 Eliz., 12th part; Orig., 14 Eliz., 2nd part, rot 105.
- 15 Eliz. 37. Lease of lands, &c., parcel of the manor of Beawdley, for 21 years at £6. 13s. 0½d.—Pat., 15 Eliz., 13th part; Orig., 15 Eliz., 5th part, rot 7.

- 15 Eliz. 38. The manor and borough of Watton under Edge.—Orig., 15 Eliz., 3rd part, rot 11.
- 16 Eliz. 39. The manor of Chewe (?) (Somerset) and lands in *twenty-six* other counties!—Pat., 16 Eliz., 1st part.
40. The reversion of the capital messuage called the Old Palace in Maidstone (Kent).—Pat., 16 Eliz., 8th part; Orig., 16 Eliz., 4th part.
41. The custody (wardship) of Robert Wilkes.—Pat., 16 Eliz., 11th part.
42. Lands and tenements in Pull and Pullcource (Worcester).—Orig., 16 Eliz., 1st part.
- 17 Eliz. 43. An annuity of £1000 for life.—Pat., 17 Eliz., 12th part [see 4 Eliz.]
- 18 Eliz. 44. Three parcels of land in Dyntley (Carnarvon), and in Festyniock, and elsewhere in Merioneth.—Pat., 18 Eliz., 2nd part; Orig., 18 Eliz., 1st part, rot 87.
45. Grant for ten years of all fines and sums of money for alienating lands in capite and alienating lands without license, &c.—Pat., 18 Eliz., 3rd part; Orig., 18 Eliz., 1st part, rot 70.
46. Lease of lands within the lordship of Grafton for twenty-one years, at £42. 12s. 11d.—Pat., 18 Eliz., 13th part; Orig., 18 Eliz., 1st part, rot 24.
47. Grant of a weekly market on Wednesdays, and a three-day fair and piepowder court at Kenilworth.—Orig., 18 Eliz., 5th part, rot 21; Pat., 18 Eliz., 6th part.
- 19 Eliz. 48. Lands in "Le Frith" and in Keven Bodkesketh, within the town of Festynyock (Merioneth), &c.—Pat., 19 Eliz., 7th part; Orig., *id.*, 3rd part.
- 20 Eliz. 49. A parcel of land within the "Commota" (Half Hundred ?) of Ardudwey (Merioneth), and land in Carnarvon, &c.—Orig., 20 Eliz., 1st part; Pat., 20 Eliz., 11th part.
50. The office of Chancellor and Chamberlain of Anglesea, Carnarvon, and Merionethshire for life.
51. The custody (wardship) and marriage of Francis and Margaret Wilkes.—Pat., 20 Eliz., 6th part.
52. The custody (wardship) and marriage of Richard, son and heir of Thos. Wenman.—*Id.*
- 21 Eliz. 53. The custody (wardship) and marriage of Richard Verney.—Pat., 21 Eliz., 8th part.

- 21 Eliz. 54. The custody (wardship) and marriage of Wm. Lovelace.—Pat., 21 Eliz., 11th part.
55. Lease of Woodgrange manor (Essex) for 71 years at £13. 11s. 0d.—Pat., 21 Eliz., 4th part; Orig., id., 1st part, rot 42.
- 22 Eliz. 56. The custody of the New Forest for life.—Pat., 22 Eliz., 1st part.
- 23 Eliz. 57. The lordship and manors of Hampton Magna and Parva (Worcester).—Pat., 23 Eliz., 3rd part; Orig., 23 Eliz., 5th part.
58. Lease of lands in Graston (Northn.) for 21 years.—Id., 7th part.
59. Messuage and lands called "Comydulis," in Naunwhynan (? Carnarvon).—Orig., 23 Eliz., 5th part.
- 24 Eliz. 60. Acquittance of £15000 paid into the Exchequer for the Queen's use.—Pat. 24 Eliz., 5th part; Orig., 24 Eliz. 3rd part, rot 100.
61. Joint grant (with Wm. Cecil, Ld. Burghley) of manor of Staunton Quynnton (Wilts) and lands in eleven other counties.—Orig., 24 Eliz., 3rd part; Pat., 24 Eliz., 13th part.
62. Ditto, ditto, of the reversion of various lordships and manors in Norfolk late of Gregory, Lord Dacre.—Pat., 24 Eliz., 13th part; Orig., 24th Eliz., 3rd part.
63. Joint grant (with John Morley, Esq.) of mill called Heldmyll, in Brecknock, and lands in nine counties.—Pat., 24 Eliz., 3rd part; Orig., 24 Eliz., 1st part.
- 26 Eliz. 64. Lease of wood and underwood in the forest of Wyer (Worcester) for 21 years.—Pat., 26 Eliz., 2nd part; Orig., id., rot 82, 3rd part.
65. Castle and lordship of Denbigh.—Id., 3rd part; Orig., id., 4th part, rot 180.
- 27 Eliz. 66. Appointment as Captain General in Holland and Zealand, with license to levy 50 men.—Id. [2 Oct.]
67. Appointment as Locum Tenens, Leader and General of all the Army of the United Provinces in Belgium.—Pat., 27 Eliz., 2nd part. [22 Oct.]
68. Joint grant with Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, of the manor of Erlingham (Gloucester).—Pat., 27 Eliz., 11th part, and (?) Orig., id., 6th part.

- 28 Eliz. 69. Appointment as Lieutenant in the Low Countries.—Pat., 28 Eliz., 11th part.
- 29 Eliz. 70. Demesne lands within the manor of Grafton (Northn.) and the manor of Great Soukye (Lanc.) for thirty-one years in reversion.—Pat., 29 Eliz., 5th part.
71. Lease of demesne and other lands in Grafton for thirty years [? same as last.]—Orig., 29 Eliz., 3rd part.
72. Authority to grant protections and warrant to Chancellor to put the Great Seal to them.—Pat., 29 Eliz., 15th part.
73. Grant of the "King's and Queen's Fines" [for license to alienate] for three years.—Pat., 29 Eliz., 7th part; Orig., 29 Eliz., 3rd part, rot 7.
- 30 Eliz. 74. Grant (on his petition) to the Grammar School of Tamworth.—Pat., 30 Eliz., 4th part.

**Licenses to Assign and Pardons for Assigning without License.**

- 5 Eliz. Lagrame Park in Bolham to Sir Richard Shurborne.—Orig., 5th part, rot 2.
- 6 Eliz. Manor of Halsted and rectory of Tylton (Warwick) to Christr. Tamworthe.—Pat., 6th part, 9th part; Orig. do., 3rd part.
- Manor of Hacknes (York) to Sir John Constable.—Id. and Orig., 3rd part.
- 7 Eliz. The "Lay" of Teddisley (Staff.) to Richd. Hunt and others.—Pat., 8th part.
- Manor of Hemmesby (Norf.) to Sir Tho. Gresham.—Pat., 6th part.
- 8 Eliz. Lordship of Weston (Somerset) to Sir Tho. Gresham.—Pat., 5th part.
- 9 Eliz. General power to alienate any of his lands for 8 years.—Orig., 9th Eliz., 3rd part, rot 51.
- Joint license (with Ambrose, Earl of Warwick), messuage, &c., in Halderwase, within the forest of Cannock (Staff.) to Walter Gryffyth, Esq.—Orig., 1st part, rot 50.
- Demesne lands of Denbigh.—Pat., 11th part.
- 10 Eliz. Joint license (with Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, and Anne his wife), manor of Claverden, als. Clareden, to Sir John Spencer.—Orig., 1st part, rot 160.

- 10 Eliz. Manor of Buckelande to Thos., Lord Howard, Vicecomes  
(?) Bynden.—Orig., 1st part, rot 163.
- 12 Eliz. Manors of Weston and Middlesowe to Edward Dyer,  
Esq.—Orig., 3rd part, rot 140; Pat., 9th part.  
Lordship of Chircke and Chirklande (Denbigh.)—Pat.,  
1st part.
- 14 Eliz. Manor of Arnsley and Cairlocke (Montgomery.)
- 16 Eliz. Demeane lands of Tytenhull (Somerset) to John Levyson  
and Henry Gilberd.—Orig., 3rd part; Pat., 5th part.  
*Manor of Commor* (Berks.) to Henry, Lord Norreis.—Pat.,  
13th part; Orig., 1st part, rot 80.
- 18 Eliz. Manor of Atherston to John Turner.—Orig., 5th part, rot 179.  
Lordships of Arnestelley, Caveliocke, Denbigh, and Chirke.  
—Pat., 1st part.
- 20 Eliz. Manor of Marston (Gloucester) to John Kecke and  
others.—Pat., 8th part; Orig., 3rd part, rot 177.
- 21 Eliz. Joint license (with Wm., Lord Burleigh) of lordships and  
manors of Horborne and Smethwike (Staff. and  
Worcester.)
- 22 Eliz. Manor of Wansted (Essex) to Thos. Skynner.—Pat., 12th  
part; Orig., 4th part, rot 150.
- 23 Eliz. "The Charterhall" *vel* "Cherthoun," Coventry, to Thos.  
Andrewes.—Orig., 3rd part, rot 77; Pat., 5th part.  
Manors of Wansted and Stonhal to Sir John Hubardes.—  
Pat., 10th part.  
Manor of Gravesend to Sir Tho. Gawdy.—Pat., 3rd part;  
Orig., 3rd part.  
Joint license (with John Morley, Esq.) to alienate messuage  
called Comyduly in Nanntiwyhnan (Carnarvon) and 17  
other counties.
- 24 Eliz. Manor of Adeston super Tower (Warwick) to John  
Lydcott.—Pat., 2nd part.
- 26 Eliz. Manor of Scruptofte (Leicester) to John Colborne, Esq.—  
Orig., 2nd part, rot 19.  
Manor of Budbrook (Warwick) to Sir Gilbert Gerrard.—  
Orig., 5th part, rot 31.
- 28 Eliz. Manor of Rayhouse (Essex) to Horatio Palavacini.—Orig.,  
3rd part, rot 132.
- 30 Eliz. Various manors, &c., in Warwick, settled by him on Lady  
Lettice his wife, for life.—Orig., 2nd part, rot 39;  
Pat., 13th part.



- 33 Eliz. Manor of Yarcomb (Devon) to Richd. Drake.—Pat., 8th part; Orig., 2nd part.
- 42 Eliz. Castle of Kenilworth to Alexr. Ratclyffe and others.—Orig., 3rd part, rot 144.  
 Castle of Kenilworth, &c., to Robert Dudley, Esq.—Orig., 3rd part, rot 177.  
 License to leave the castle of Kenilworth to divers uses.—Pat., 31st part.<sup>1</sup>

### Licenses to Purchase.

- 11 Eliz. Site of the Prior of the Carthusians next Coventry. Orig., 3rd part, rot 159.
- 14 Eliz. Manor of Ichington (Warwick) from Sir John Throgmorton and others.—Orig., 1st part, rot 67; Pat., 8th part.  
 Manor of Balsall from Edwd., Lord Dudley.—Pat., 10th part.
- 20 Eliz. Manor of Wanstead, and lands in Wanstead, Woodford, Walthamstow, Leyton, and Ilford (Essex) from Sir Robt. Riche.—Pat., 5th part; Orig., 2nd part, rot 6.
- 23 Eliz. Manor of Stonehall from Arthur Breame, Esq.—Pat., 5th part; Orig., 5th part, rot 148.  
 Manor of Honyley (Warwick) from Fras. Throckmarton and others.—Pat., 10th part.
- 24 Eliz. Manor of Northley [Northeye], (Gloucester) from Richd. Byrd and Thos. Cocks.—Pat., 9th part; Orig., 5th part, rot 111.  
 Manor of Aderston, &c., from John Lydcote.—Orig., 2nd part.
- 25 Eliz. Manor of Wanstead and Stonehall (Essex) from Thos. Skynner, Esq., and Blanche his wife.—Pat., 6th and 11th parts; Orig., 2nd part, rot 167, and 6th part, rot 25.

<sup>1</sup> This was the last license to Leicester. It is singular however, as showing that Elizabeth was not so vindictive against his widow Lettice, to note that she granted her two beneficial leases, one of premises, part of the manor of Stutington (Warwick), and the other of the site of the Priory of Albecote, &c. (Warwick and Stafford), for twenty-one years.—Orig., 43rd Elizabeth, 1st part, rot 18 and 102.

- 26 Eliz. Manor of Scraftofte (Leicester) from John Colborne.—  
Pat., 7th part.  
Manor of Buddbrooke (Warwick) from Sir G. Gerrard.—  
Pat., 14th part.
- 28 Eliz. Manor of Aldersbrooke (Essex) from Nich. Fuller.—Pat.,  
11th part; Orig., 1st part, rot 164.  
Manor of Cranbrooke (Essex) from . . . . .—Orig., 1st  
part.  
Ten messuages in Wanstead from . . . .—Orig., 1st part  
The farm of the “Queen’s money” for license to alienate  
from Thos. Dudley and Robt. Wroth.—Orig., 4th part.
- 36 Eliz. *Manor and rectory of Comner* from *Richd. Foster*.—Pat.,  
18th part; Orig., 2nd part, rot 209.  
*Manor of Comner* from *Anthony Foster*.—Orig., 2nd part,  
rot 213.
- 37 Eliz. Manor of Long Itchington (Warwick) from Anthony  
Ludford and Thos. Fysshier.—Pat., 1st part; Orig.,  
4th part, rot 142.  
Manor of Ernewood (Shrops.) from Thos. Duddeley and  
Richd. Sutton.—Orig., 4th part, rot 150.
- 40 Eliz. Manor of Balsall (Warwick and Worcester) from Edwd.  
Sutton, Baron of Dudley.

**Deeds to which Leicester was a party, from the Close Roll.**

- 6 Eliz., part 3. John Dudley and Leicester.
- 11 „ „ 3. Leicester and Thomas, Viscount Byndon.  
„ „ 8. Leicester and Richard Over (?)  
„ „ 9. Leicester and Thomas Gresham.  
„ „ 24. Leicester and John Dudley.
- 12 „ „ 6. Leicester and John Dudley.  
„ „ 6. Leicester and James Bedell.  
„ „ 6. Leicester and Thomas, Lord Pagett.
- 14 „ „ 5. Leicester and John Lydcott.  
„ „ 16. Leicester and Sir Roger Marten.  
„ „ 16. Leicester and Edward, Lord Dudley.  
„ „ 25. Leicester and Sir John Throckmerton and others.
- 15 „ „ 22. Leicester and Richard Foster.  
„ „ 29. Leicester and Edmund Dockwray.
- 16 „ „ 1. Leicester and Christopher Fenton.
- 17 „ „ 16. Leicester and John Dudley and others.

- 20 Eliz., part 4. Leicester and Robert, Lord Riche.  
 21 „ „ 5. Leicester and Richard Paramoure.  
 „ „ 10. Leicester and Robert, Lord Riche.  
 22 „ „ 3. Leicester and Richard Staneley.  
 „ „ 12. Leicester and Thomas, Lord Buckhurst.  
 23 „ „ 5. Leicester and Francis Throckmarton.  
 „ „ 16. Leicester and John Morley.  
 24 „ „ 3. William, Lord Burleigh, Sir Edward Sutton, and  
 Lord Dudley on the one part, and Leicester of  
 the second part, Sir James Herrington of the  
 third part, and Sir Gilbert Gerrard of the fourth  
 part.  
 „ „ 4. Leicester and Edmund Downinge and others.  
 „ „ 7. Leicester and Thomas Skinner.  
 „ „ 22. "Scriptum factum Rob't Comiti Leic' p d'nam  
 Beginam."  
 25 „ „ 12. Leicester and Edmund Downinge and others.  
 „ „ 17. Leicester and John Duncombe.  
 „ „ 20. Leicester and Thomas Skynner.  
 26 „ „ 3. Leicester and Edward Barker and others.  
 „ „ 4. Leicester and Thomas Skynner.  
 „ „ 17. Leicester and Thomas Skynner.  
 „ „ 19. Leicester and Edward Barker.  
 27 „ „ 13. Leicester and William Skarre.  
 „ „ 20. Leicester and Theophilus Adams and others.  
 28 „ „ 13. Leicester and Thomas Dudley and others.  
 30 „ „ 14. Leicester and Edmund Downinge and others.  
 „ „ 16. Leicester and Sir Henry Vukon (?)  
 „ „ 17. Leicester and William Hill.  
 „ „ 17. Leicester and William Walshe.

### Recognizances from the Close Roll.

2 Eliz., part 13.	To John Littleton . . . . .	£4
3 „ „ 16.	Sir Thomas Gresham . . . . .	£2000
„ „ 2.	Sir Henry Sidney . . . . .	£600
„ „ 2.	John Tamworth . . . . .	£800
4 „ „ 12.	James Altham . . . . .	£80
5 „ „ 3.	John Longe . . . . .	£4000
8 „ „ 13.	The Queen . . . . .	£2000
„ „ 14.	Ditto . . . . .	£500

2 Eliz., part 16.	Roland Hayward . . . .	£2500
9 " " 8.	John Tamworth and others . .	£20,000
10 " " 19.	Thomas Howarde . . . .	£10,000
12 " " 22.	Edward Carye . . . .	£600
14 " " 3.	Roland Heiward . . . .	£2000
15 " " 3.	The Queen, 1500 marks . . .	£1000
" " 3.	Ditto, 1000 marks . . . .	£666 13s. 4d.
" " 8.	John Rywas, 2000 marks . .	£1333 6s. 8d.
" " 22.	John Blount and others . . .	£400
16 " " 30.	The Queen . . . .	£10,000
20 " " 19.	Edward Brockett . . . .	£200
21 " " 20.	Richard Paramour . . . .	£8000
" " 20.	Ditto . . . .	£2000
22 " " 22.	The Queen . . . .	£1000
23 " " 23.	Thomas Stapleton . . . .	£200
" " 24.	The Queen . . . .	£4000

## APPENDIX XVI.

### *The Queen's Gifts to Hatton.<sup>2</sup>*

- 10 Eliz. Farm of the manor of Holdenby, Northampton, for forty years.—Pat., 10 Eliz., 2nd part, 221 d.  
Office of Keeper of Eltham Park, Kent, and Keeper of the New Park of Horne for life.—Id., 6th part, 229 d.  
Site of monastery of Sulby, Northampton.—Id., 7th part, 230 d.
- 11 Eliz. Free chapel of Monckston (Pembroke) for twenty-one years.—Pat., 11 Eliz., 5th part, 249 d.
- 12 Eliz. Reversion of Office of Queen's Remembrancer of Exchequer.—Pat., 2nd part, 259.  
Reversion of site of Monastery of Sulby.—Id., 3rd part, 260.
- 13 Eliz. The inn called the "Shipp," in the parish of St. Clement's next Temple Bar, for 30 years.—Pat., 13 Eliz., 3rd part, 275 d.  
The written obligation (bond ?) of Nichs. Beaumont, an outlaw.—Id., 4th part, 277.

<sup>2</sup> Now first collected and printed.

- 13 Eliz. The custody (wardship) of Wm. Underhill.—Id., 277 d.  
 A third of the manor of Beeston (York) for twenty-one years.—Id., 7th part, 281.  
 Reversion of the manor of Holdenby (Northampton.)—Id., 10th part, 284.  
 Manor of Sturmyster Newton Castell (Dorset) for thirty years.—Id., 10th part, 284.
- 14 Eliz. Reversion of office of Queen's Remembrancer of Exchequer.—14 Eliz., 1st part, 288.  
 Lease of wood and underwood, called the Haye Wood, in the old forest of La Haye (Hereford) for twenty-one years.—Pat., 4th part, 295 d.  
 Stewardship of the manor of Wendlingborough (Northampton) for life.—Id., 8th part, 295 d.  
 The custody (wardship) of Eliz. and Margt. Keble.—Id., 10th part, 30 d.  
 Reversion of manor of Frampton (Dorset.)—Id., fo. 104.  
 The site of the monastery of Blessed Mary in the Fields (Leicester.)—Id.
- 15 Eliz. Rectory of Buckbey, otherwise Long Buckbey (Northampton), for sixty years.—Pat., 11th part, 318 d.
- 17 Eliz. Cottage called Shepparde's Cote in Somerset, and other lands in Suff., Gloucester, Dorset, and Hereford.—Pat., 7th part, 15.  
 Farm of lordship and manor of Chappell Brampton (Northampton.)—Id., 13th part, 22 d.
- 18 Eliz. An annuity of £400 for his life.—Pat., 1st part, 2.  
 Divers manors in Huntingdon, Cambridge, Salop, Somerset, Dorset, &c.—Id., 13th part, 26.  
 Castle, lordship, or manor of Corffe (Dorset.)—Pat., 14th part, 26 d.
- 19 Eliz. The house and site of the late priory of Breamore (Southampton) and other lands, &c.—Pat., 8th part, 43 d.  
 Office of Keeper of the Park of Molton (Northampton.)—Id., 44.
- 20 Eliz. The palace and house of the Bishop of Ely, commonly called Ely Place, in Holborne.—Pat., 2nd part, 2.  
 License to empark 270 acres in Holdenby, Church Brampton, and Chappell Brampton (Northampton.)—Id.  
 The custody (wardship) and marriage of John Cullyford.—Id., 6th part, 14 d.

- 21 Eliz. Advowsons of churches of Stokebrewerne, Blisseworth, Cottingham, and Billinge Magna (Northampton).—Pat., 2nd part, fo. 6.

Manor of Brymmer Courtney (Southampton) and rectory of Cleve Ep'i and chapel of Stoke Archard (Gloucester), vicarage of Payneswel, and license to empark and have free warren in manor of Brymmer Courtney.—Id., 4th part, 10.

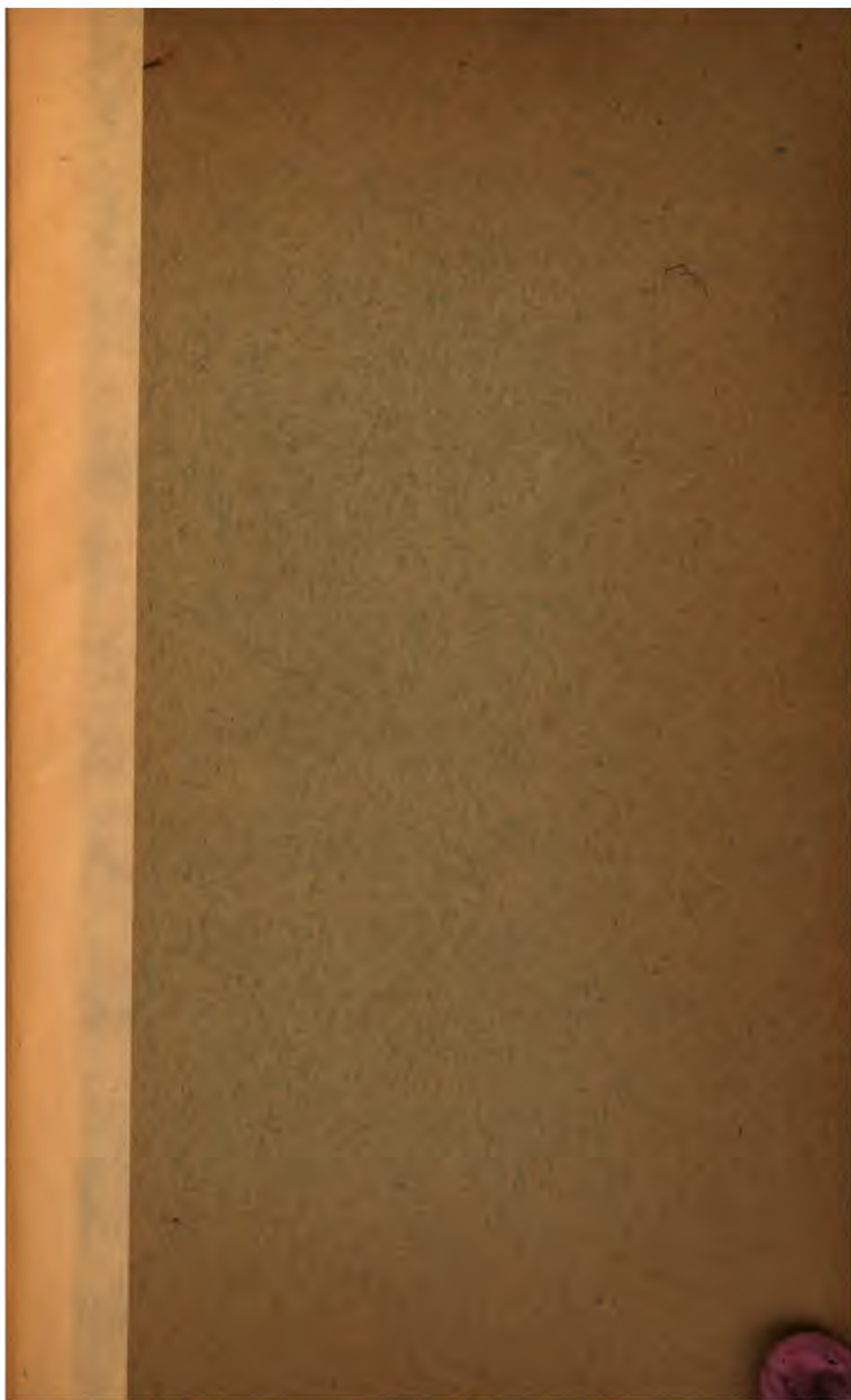
The portion of tithes known as "Radingden Tythes" (Rottingdean P) in Brightelmerton (Sussex), and properties in fourteen other counties.—Id., 11th part, 26.

- 22 Eliz. Pleasance Manor (Kent) for life.—Pat., 1st part, 3.

### Recognizances from the Close Roll.

10 Eliz., part 5.	To the Queen	£500
„ „ 5.	Ditto	£4000
13 „ „ 3.	Simon Love	£660
„ „ 6.	Edward Curey (Carey P) and others	£1000
„ „ 19.	Sir Henry Lee	£1000
„ „ 26.	Richard Marten	£2000
15 „ „ 23.	Sir John Spencer	£1000
16 „ „ 23.	George Stoddard	£1000
18 „ „ 18.	John Stafford	£600
„ „ 18.	Ditto	£1200
„ „ 18.	Ditto	£1200
„ „ 19.	William Saunders	£1000
„ „ 21.	The Queen	£3000
19 „ „ 17.	Edward Hungeford	£1000
„ „ 18.	Peter Gray	£3000
„ „ 18.	John Mabbe, jnu.	£500
„ „ 19.	Richard Bourne	£4000
„ „ 21.	The Queen	£1000
20 „ „ 22.	William Dixon	£300
23 „ „ 20.	William Dodington	£6000
„ „ 21.	Hugh Hare	£820
„ „ 21.	Ditto	£410
„ „ 23.	Edward Unton	£6000
„ „ 23.	Hugh Hare	£800







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